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The Week

FOR the first time, there is evidence that the administration intends to adopt measures to increase spending, in the endeavor to keep the depression from getting any worse and, if possible, to improve conditions. Mr. Roosevelt and his advisers have been casting up accounts and they find, as The New Republic has several times pointed out, that thus far what has been done has been heavily deflationary in its results. Salary cuts, reduction of veterans' allowances, thousands of closed banks, all these may have been necessary, but they have greatly curtailed consumer purchasing power, the only thing which can start the wheels of industry revolving again. The President is now considering, therefore, a vast program of public works to be financed through the issuance of government bonds. The Muscle Shoals plan and the peacetime army would be only the beginnings of this project, which would include large sums for various types of public and semi-public enterprises, including housing. Such a plan will be of little use unless it involves a very great sum—$5,000 million at least—to be spent in an extremely limited period. Even then, there is no guarantee that it will be successful. We believe, however, that the country's condition is so serious that the chance is one well worth taking.

THE whirlwind pace at which things have been moving in Washington was abated little, if at all, during the last seven days. Among the administration's actions during that time were the following:

> Invitations were sent to eleven countries asking them to participate in separate conversations with American officials preliminary to the World Economic Conference. All other interested powers were also invited to discuss any matter of common interest, through normal diplomatic channels.
>
> The President sent to Congress a message recommending development of the Tennessee River Valley-Muscle Shoals project, involving hydro-electric power, flood control, safeguards against erosion, afforestation, taking marginal farm lands out of use and even the reorganization and redistribution of industry.
>
> Proposals were formulated for home-mortgage relief, as a companion measure to farm-mortgage relief. Bonds to the extent of $2,200 million or more would be issued with which to refund mortgage obligations at 5 percent.
>
> It was decided to attempt at this session of Congress only emergency revision of the banking law. Discussion centered about the desirability of requiring some kind of coöperative guarantee of deposits.
>
> The proposal for a federal blue-sky law was reconsidered and the measure altered in many important respects in order to meet objections which had been advanced.
>
> The extraordinarily far-reaching and dangerous federal censorship law adopted by the House was modified to refer only to federal employees who make private use of official code messages.
>
> The matter of railway legislation was considered and it was decided to concentrate efforts for the present upon making all possible economies without fundamental reorganization.

THE outcome of the trial of Haywood Patterson, first of the Scottsboro defendants to be retried, terrible as it is, should have surprised no one who knows the strength of racial prejudice or had followed the previous history of the case. Mrs. Mary Heaton Vorse shows in her article published elsewhere in this issue that justice had nothing to do with the thought processes of the jury. Local sentiment was bent on "getting the nigger," and noth-

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ing was allowed to stand in the way of that determination. Some people have sought to argue that if Communists had not aided the defense, and two of the counsel had not been from New York, and had not been members of the Jewish race, the trial might have had a different outcome; but we see no reason to believe that this would have been true. In fact, the savagery of the prosecution's attack upon "Jew money from New York" was probably the best thing that could have happened for the defendants, since it is hard to see how the United States Supreme Court can fail to take cognizance of this gross appeal to bigoted race prejudice. Another important basis for appeal is the proved and admitted fact that Negroes are not permitted to serve on juries in the state of Alabama. The Supreme Court has before interested itself in violations of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. It is not unlikely that the Court will now rule on the question omitted from its previous Scottsboro case decision—the prejudiced atmosphere in which the trial was conducted. From a legal standpoint, this trial was in several ways even more outrageous than the other one, in spite of the fact that the presiding judge was impartial. To be sure, all that the Supreme Court can do is to order still another trial; but even the state of Alabama, after a double rebuke from Washington, might at last see the desirability of giving the defendants at least the semblance of a fair trial.

HAVING silenced all opposition with its campaign of terrorism, the Hitler dictatorship is proceeding to carry out its program. Governors are being appointed for the various states, putting an end to the state independence which has been sacred since Bismarck guaranteed it in the Constitution of 1871. This move is a shrewd attempt to prevent a return to influence of any of the royal houses in the individual states; Hitler could control a restoration of the Hohenzollern monarchy, but he might not be able to do the same in the different states. Equally drastic measures are being undertaken to subjugate industry, the trade unions and the Church. The powerful Industrieverband, which corresponds to our own National Manufacturers' Association, has been taken under the wing of the Nazis. All labor organizations which are still permitted, including Socialist, Centrist and Liberal unions as well as Nazis shop cells, are under the direction of a Reich Commissioner. Recognizing, as Mussolini did, that a dictatorship cannot rule indefinitely by force alone, the Nazis are trying to make friends with certain sections of labor by pointing out that their movement is really a radical one. Göring has made a speech emphasizing the Socialist character of the government and deploring the inability of certain elements to understand that nationalism is not enough to solve Germany's problems—a broad hint that the Hitlerites may find it necessary to say farewell to their allies, the Nationalist People's party.

WHILE the atrocity campaign against the Jews seems to have subsided, at least temporarily, discrimination against them is merciless and systematic. A few grandstand concessions, such as permitting Jewish lawyers to practise if their fathers or sons were killed in the War, should not blind our eyes to the fact that everything possible is being done to destroy the economic life of all Jews except the bankers—a discrimination which is highly significant. Practically every Jew who holds an official position has been dismissed and replaced by a Nazi. Professional men are being restricted to a proportion equivalent to the number of Jews in the total population—about one percent. Jewish merchants and other business men have no trade except with their co-religionists and these are of course able to buy little. Call it what you like, there is a boycott on the Jews, and it is one which, incidentally, is causing many Germans great hardship. Jews by the thousands are canceling leases on homes and places of business, owned by Germans. Jewish firms are forced by economic necessity to dismiss German employees whom they no longer need. It goes without saying that few Jews in any country will ever again buy German goods, travel on German steamers, insure in German companies or buy German books or periodicals.

HERR Hitler proposes to dictate to Germany not only its economic and its material culture but its spiritual food as well. All Protestant churches are to be united under a single Chancellory. The Old Testament has been abandoned as an instrument of faith, and in its stead a new national religion emphasizing German racial characteristics and development will be taught in the schools, with special attention to the ancient Teutonic sagas. Perhaps more important still is the possibility of a rapprochement between Hitler and the Vatican. Von Papen and Göring are in Rome endeavoring to obtain the support and coöperation of the Pope. For those who believe that such an alliance would be a disastrous mistake for the Catholic Church, there is comfort in the realization that the Vatican has seen more than one dictator rise and fall again, and usually conducts its international relations on a basis of the strictest *Realpolitik*. On the other hand, Hitler has two strong arguments to offer the Pope: he can promise to halt the persecution of Catholics, recently witnessed in Germany; and he can invite coöperation in a great crusade against Communism.

MISS Frances Perkins has made the best of all possible starts as Secretary of Labor: she has dismissed the Department's "under-cover squad" which was used by the unspeakable Doak in his labor-baiting, alien-persecuting activities. She has also let it be known that Mr. Doak's last and most obnoxious order, that all aliens arriving in the United States must be fingerprinted, will not be put into effect. For the first time since the War, we shall have a Department of Labor which

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really means to help the working population. William Green, Matthew Woll and the Tory capitalists may weep salty tears at this spectacle; but nobody else will.

THE more we learn about the recent California earthquake, the more serious do some aspects of it appear. The New Republic has already reported the fact that for twenty-seven years, California seismologists had been warning the state that another severe earthquake was likely, and might come anywhere, and that no building should be permitted which was not of 'quakeproof construction. Not only did their efforts fail, but there was a conspiracy of the state's chambers of commerce and newspapers to suppress all discussion of the subject. Since the recent experience of Japan proves that it is possible to build structures which will resist the strongest earthquake, it is fair to say that the state of California is directly responsible for the deaths of the 116 persons who were killed.

IT WAS only by accident that to this list there were not added hundreds, perhaps even several thousands, of additional victims among school children. If the 'quake had taken place three hours earlier, the loss of life from this source would have been tremendous. Rob Wagner's Script, which is not only the brightest but the most courageous journal published west of the Rockies, estimates that 300 schools were damaged; and photographs in The New Republic's possession show a number of these buildings so completely demolished that if they had been in use almost everyone in them would have been killed. No blame attaches to the state school authorities: not one building planned and supervised by the State School Architect, Mr. Andrew Hill, was injured. The state legislature is to blame, however, for permitting cities to act independently and for not enforcing a rigid state code. Local school boards, intent on saving every nickel, forced the use of cheap materials and flimsy construction and dispensed with inspection; only through a miracle did they fail to pay with the mangled bodies of children. We should like to believe that California had now learned her lesson, but we doubt it.

MR. Donald Henderson, instructor in Economics at Columbia University, has not been reappointed, and the issue has been raised whether this is because of his radicalism. Mr. Henderson has been active in aiding the left-wing undergraduate Social Problems Club, and played a prominent part in college activities relating to the Kentucky miners' strike and the dismissal, last spring, of Reed Harris, editor of The Columbia Spectator. Mr. Henderson believes that his radicalism was the reason why he was not reappointed, although spokesmen for the University deny this. Professor Roswell C. McCrea, of the Department of Economics, said that Mr. Henderson "failed consistently to apply himself seriously and diligently to his duties as instructor and to maintain the standards of teaching required by this department." It has also been said that since Columbia, like most other institutions, rarely gives an important teaching post to anyone who does not have a doctor's degree, Mr. Henderson was warned some years ago that he ought to get one, but has not done so. This is one of the cases in which we see no reason to challenge the sincerity of either party to the controversy. While it is true that many universities dismiss men for radicalism and pretend there was some other reason, it is also true that the mere fact of being a radical does not automatically guarantee competence as a teacher. In recent years, Columbia has been one of the two or three American universities where the faculty have been most untrammeled. We hope Mr. Henderson will appeal to the committee on academic freedom of the American Association of University Professors, and have a careful investigation of his case. We wish, at the same time, that the A.A.U.P. had a more definite legal status and authority to enforce its findings.

A GRAPHIC picture of the effects of the depression on the white-collar workers who undertook to buy homes on easy terms in the days before 1929 is contained in a report compiled by the home buyers of Sunnyside Gardens, Long Island City, New York. This development, sponsored by a limited-dividend company, and long regarded as a model project for middle-class city dwellers, attracted more than five hundred artisans, office workers, writers and small business men. In 1928, when the development was completed, all the residents felt they could easily meet their modest interest and principal payments. Recently, the proportion of those who found their finances in critical condition became so great that a committee was appointed to compile precise statistics. An exhaustive questionnaire was sent to all the families. Replies from more than three hundred showed these facts:

> The average income has been cut in half. Since income has fallen more rapidly than fixed charges (despite the efforts of the landlord company to deal generously with its clients) the amount available for all other living expenses has been reduced by two-thirds.
>
> Savings have been reduced by three-fourths.
>
> Life-insurance policies have been dropped, or have been used to the fullest extent for loans.
>
> The jobs of 40 percent of those who are normally employed have evaporated.
>
> Nearly one-half of all those who have been trying to buy their homes are in such financial distress that they cannot keep their houses or apartments unless they are afforded relief.
>
> Another one-fourth are classed as in a "potentially critical" condition.

IF THE home owners in Sunnyside find themselves in such distress, the fate of others throughout the nation who set out to provide their families with homes may be readily imagined. Sunny-

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side has even been spoken of as a "semi-philanthropic" undertaking. Monthly payments of only $70 covered the full carrying and amortization charges on $9,000 one-family homes. The buyers in most cases held positions more than ordinarily secure. If those in such a favored state need help, it is little wonder that the federal government and the legislatures of nearly all the states are being implored to provide mortgage relief.

A NEW scheme for farm relief has appeared and is attracting wide attention in the Middle West. Primarily intended for the growers of corn, it could also be used with potatoes, fruits and molasses. This plan is to encourage production of alcohol from corn, or other farm products, by passing a law saying that a certain percentage of such alcohol must be mixed into every gallon of gasoline which is sold. The scheme is admittedly uneconomic: the product would cost more than straight gasoline, and while it would be a little better, it would not be worth the difference. The price of corn would be raised, however, farm purchasing power would be restored and thereby 80,000,000 people, two-thirds of our population, would be benefited. Corn has recently sold as low as ten cents a bushel. If even 2 per cent of corn-alcohol were added to gasoline, it is estimated by authorities quoted by Science Service that the price would be raised to fifty cents a bushel. At that price, alcohol could be manufactured for thirty cents a gallon, compared with a cost of gasoline at the refinery of about five cents a gallon. This would mean an increase in the retail price of gasoline of about one-half a cent a gallon.

SUCH alcohol-gasoline would be less likely to knock, would require less oil, give cleaner burning and improve motor performance at low speeds. The mileage per gallon would be slightly lower, though with only 2 percent of alcohol added, these differences would be negligible. Seventeen foreign countries now require by law a proportion of alcohol in gasoline, ranging from 5 to 50 percent. These countries all import gasoline, and have acted to reduce imports and encourage domestic agriculture, chiefly the growing of potatoes. This argument of course does not apply to the United States, which exports gasoline on a vast scale. If we adopted this device it would be solely in the endeavor to redistribute income for the benefit of the farmer, taxing the automobile owner and the oil industry for his benefit. The oil industry, however, would not suffer so much as might be supposed. Throughout the farm area, gasoline sales are down 30 to 50 percent, and restored farm purchasing power would do much to bring them up again.

UNDER President Hoover, the Department of Commerce degenerated into little more than a sales organization to help increase the export of American goods. It is known that Mr. Roosevelt has very different plans for the Department. If the United States were to adopt a planned national economy, this department could play an extremely important part in the collection of information on which such a policy would be based, and in the organization of its subsequent details. It is good news, therefore, that Mr. John Dickinson, professor of Constitutional Law at the Pennsylvania Law School, has been appointed Assistant Secretary of Commerce. Mr. Dickinson is a brilliant young scholar, who has crowded into a short legal career a varied experience. He has made a close study of government control of business, reflected in his book, "Administrative Justice and the Supremacy of Law." We take it for granted that Mr. Dickinson would not have accepted the post if he were not convinced that the Department of Commerce is to play a different and more useful role than it has done during the last three administrations.

THE terrible conditions in Germany are vividly shown in a letter received by The New Republic this week. Our correspondent, who must of course be anonymous, writes:

> Things in Germany are so confused that nobody can see what it will all come to. The government is empowered to overhear telephone calls, to search letters and to supervise all the activities of any private individual. The liberties of the citizen, as guaranteed in the Constitution, are widely suppressed and suspended. . . . It is absolutely impossible to utter any spoken or written word against the Nazis and their measures for governing this country. Yet you must not forget that they, a majority of 52 percent, are suppressing a minority of 48 percent. . . . The fears and anxieties of the Jews are not so unjustified as the official declarations of the government might induce you to believe. The decrees of the government as to Jewish artists or representatives of the Marxist mentality have led to such events as you would not think possible in this century.
>
> Half of the 17 millions who voted for Hitler are actually proletarians. Why did they refuse to vote for the Communists or Socialists? Millions of persons who have no political education, no idea about what a state, a nation, might be, are attracted and fascinated by one who appeals to their feelings and emotions, which are vague and undetermined. The Socialists could only appeal to reason, to reality, to common sense; but for fourteen years, we Germans have been suffering the most brutal and unsatisfactory reality. We have been fed up with thinking. The swing to Hitler was meant to be a protest against the overwhelming reality in our world, with its technology and rationalization, but it has turned out to be an alarming surrender of the human spirit before the uncontrollable forces of emotional life. A disappointment of the masses may have bitter consequences. Meanwhile, we must wait. Don't forget that things over here are more gloomy than I have dared to show in these lines. If you get this letter, please don't answer it—it might be dangerous for me. The return address on the envelope is of course fictitious. It is not safe any more to put one's real name and address on a letter such as this, going to a foreign country.

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Mr. Roosevelt and World Trade

WITHIN the next week, a remarkable series of international conversations will begin in Washington. The United States will discuss separately with at least eleven other countries (including all the Great Powers except Russia) a series of such problems as war debts, restricted output of agricultural products, the price of silver, disarmament, and in particular, tariffs, quotas, embargoes, exchange restrictions and other impediments to trade. What could, and what is likely to, come out of these meetings? Assuming that they are successful, will a body blow have been struck at the depression? And if they fail, what next?

In regard to at least one of these subjects, it is safe to predict that little of importance will be done. It is hard to see why disarmament should have a place in the discussion. To be sure, if the nations spent less for guns they could spend more for imported peacetime products; but it is absurd to suppose that Mr. Roosevelt can do at Washington, country by country, what the United States has not been able to do at Geneva in the disarmament conference with all the powers represented. Europeans are quite as well aware as we are that armaments cost money. They do not increase their armies and navies out of willful perversity or the desire to irritate the Americans. They act under the whip of fear, and as long as the fear continues, no appeal to common sense from this side of the Atlantic can do much good.

Another question whose importance is often overrated is the war debts. They are still influential as a hindrance to normal trade, but their political significance has been greatly diminished by the fact that no country intends to go on paying, and everybody knows it. Half the debtors are already in default. Of the other half, all but about two—perhaps England and Italy—will probably default in June unless there is a new moratorium. General realization of this fact has greatly lessened whatever degree of bargaining power the United States may once have had because of the debts.

The relative insignificance of the war debts was strikingly indicated by a statement of Secretary Hull the other day. Although the debts, even in theory, are worth only a few hundred millions annually, Secretary Hull points out that world trade of about $50,000 million annually, before the depression, has now shrunk to only $12,000 to $18,000 million. The United States' share of the loss is itself $6,000 to $8,000 million annually, which is more than one-half the capital value of the war debts. If cancellation produced even a modest increase in our international trade, we should get back their total value in a few years.

What will the American government be able to do in the way of obtaining reciprocal agreements with other countries which will facilitate trade? First of all, we should note that economic nationalism is not a development between the United States and other countries individually. Its sharpest manifestations have come in situations with which this country has nothing directly to do. In every European country, there is a struggle between capitalists interested in domestic trade, who want special and artificial privileges for themselves, and those engaged in export, who naturally wish an amount of imports at least large enough to make continuance of their business possible. Historically, import restrictions were begun by Germany in what seems to have been an honest attempt to build up an export surplus with which to pay reparations. Her restrictions, however, met with reprisals, and the vicious circle of competitive building of tariff walls was under way. It is true in a broad sense, as Secretary Hull says, that all nations are very much poorer than they were when the process began; but plenty of Europeans will tell you that it is not tariffs which caused depression but depression which made tariffs necessary, and that their countries would be still worse off if they had allowed "floods of cheap foreign goods" to come across their borders. On the short-range view, there is a good deal of truth in this position; some of the emergency measures taken were at the moment imperative. On the longe-range view, however, prosperity cannot be brought back by measures which cripple free economic life.

Inextricably entangled with European economics is European politics. It is rightly perceived that strong national industry is a powerful military force and, indeed, in the last analysis, the most powerful. Some of Europe's series of tariff barriers are designed to keep a dangerous enemy from becoming too strong, or to help build up internal strength for war purposes. These arguments are more than ever powerful at the present moment when the danger of war is so acute. It may safely be said that there is little enthusiasm for the suppression of economic nationalism in the chancellories of Europe. However amiable Mr. MacDonald may be, the Tory government of which he is the anomalous head is committed to a policy of tariffs. Hitler in Germany has come to power largely on a similar platform. France has been one of the worst offenders in setting up quotas. Italy's economic life is rigidly controlled for the benefit of Fascism's "manifest destiny."

If it comes down to a strictly bargaining basis, what has the United States to offer? Concessions on the war debts are of little importance, except possibly with England, for the reasons indicated above. Reciprocity agreements with various individual countries should be possible but it is hard to believe that these agreements are likely to be of sufficient value to do the job of turning the economic tide and creating a substantially higher level of activity. In the light of these facts, the prospects for the "little economic conference" seem far from

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bright. The world is desperately sick, and the United States is sickest of all. As the downward spiral of deflation continues, there isn't much time left in which to set our house in order either nationally or internationally. It is far from certain, moreover, that full restoration of international activity would mean the end of the depression. Our difficulties are now so serious that even with every possible barrier to international trade eliminated, things would still be very bad. The salutary effect of a restoration of world trade has been exaggerated, just as too large a share of the blame for the depression has been attributed to events abroad.

If the Washington negotiations prove that it is out of the question to burn away the barriers, the United States will have to rearrange its affairs as far as possible on a basis of a nationally self-contained economy. The adjustment will be terribly difficult: while our export trade constituted only 10 percent of our total, before the depression, this 10 percent was of course not spread uniformly over our economic life. We sent abroad 54 percent of our cotton, 41 percent of our tobacco, 33 percent of our lard, 36 percent of our copper, 17 percent of our wheat, 23 percent of our agricultural machinery, and so on. What is to be done with the surplus workers, the huge invested capital if these industries are to be cut down to our domestic requirements? The readjustment will be enormously hard to manage; and the middle of a depression is the worst possible time to undertake it. Nevertheless, even the hardest task must be attempted—if there is no alternative.

The Arts under Hitlerism

WHAT ARE the intellectual effects of a Fascist revolution? In Germany, for example, what has happened to the arts and the liberal professions since Hitler came into power? It would be instructive to call the roll and to see how the same story is repeated in every field of intellectual activity. The facts, many of them familiar to our readers, can be pieced together from newspaper accounts. If there are any mistakes in the summary, the German censorship is at fault—and censorship itself is an important effect of the counter-revolution.

The schools? Many progressive ones have been closed, including the famous Karl Marxschule in Berlin. Children as young as six have been arrested during school hours because their parents were Communists or Socialists. A great many qualified teachers have been discharged on account of their race or their political opinions. The *numerus clausus* is to be applied, and only a limited number of Jewish students will be admitted to the high schools and universities. From some universities, all Jews will be barred for the next five years. Some of the best of the professors have been fired like office boys and others have resigned under pressure.

Medicine? As long as millions of people are unable to pay for good medical attention, it cannot be said that there is any real surplus of doctors in Germany; yet Jewish physicians are being forbidden to practise. Jewish, Socialist and Communist surgeons are being discharged from hospital staffs and replaced by 100-percent Aryans who, in some cases, know more about politics than appendectomy. Research scientists like Dr. Hermann Zondek, the co-discoverer of the Aschheim-Zondek test, have been expelled from their laboratories and forced to flee across the border.

Law? Of the 2,700 Jewish lawyers in Berlin, only 900 will be allowed to practise, even under the "liberalized" regulations that were announced last week; before that time it was intended to restrict the number to thirty-five. Socialist and Communist lawyers have also been driven from the courts, and Jewish and liberal judges removed from office. Justice, in political cases, has been suspended.

The Church? All the cults in Germany are suffering, but for different reasons. The persecution of the Jews is racial and economic rather than religious, a fact which makes it all the more implacable. In previous persecutions, it was possible for a Jew to escape by abjuring his faith, but the Nazis have changed all this by inventing the new crime of "having a Jewish grandparent." The arrest of Catholics in Germany today is attributable less to religion than politics. Curiously enough it is the sincere Protestants who are now facing a purely religious persecution. When, for example, Dr. Frederick Dibelius, general superintendent of the Evangelical Church in Kurmark, sent a confidential letter to the pastors of his diocese reminding them that the Gospel of Christ applied to all men regardless of politics, the Nazis declared that this "was treason to the church."

The fine arts? The treatment of Jewish actors, musicians and directors like Bruno Walter and Max Reinhardt has been widely discussed in this country. It is not so well known that painters, Jewish and Gentile, have been beaten on the streets because their pictures were "modern" and were therefore suspected of being radical. Architects have been persecuted for the crime of building houses in which workers can live cheaply.

Literature? The president of the great Ullstein Verlag, known for years as the largest publishing house in western Europe, died recently after a beating received, it is said, at the hands of Storm Troopers. His son escaped into exile. Very few books are now appearing in Germany. It seems that a novelist, under Fascism, can commit any number of crimes: he can be liberal, pacifistic, Jewish, proletarian, or he can simply be a good novelist—and this in itself is sufficient to offend the little Brown Shirt writers. It has been said, probably without exaggeration, that most of the good writers in Germany, beginning with Thomas Mann, the best of them, and his brother Heinrich, are either in jail, in hiding or outside the country.

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Science? But it is hardly necessary to continue the long list. These are the arts and the professions of middle-class Germany, and everywhere among them, from the Prussian Academy at the top down to the poorest schoolhouse at the cross roads, the result of Fascism has been physical terror and intellectual stagnation. Yet this is only one side of the story: there are also to be considered the arts and recreations of the working class.

Proletarian culture, which in this country is a subject of academic argument, has been a reality in Germany. In spite of being underpaid, half-starved and thrown out of their jobs, the German workers have united to fight the depression in their own fashion. They formed their own societies for song and exercise in the open air. By pooling together their pennies, they provided themselves with costly equipment, bicycles, motorcycles, racing shells. They built gymnasiums for themselves and nurseries and kindergartens for their children. They published their own newspapers and magazines, some of them with circulations as high as half a million. They had their own journalists, novelists, poets and even composers. They wrote, produced and acted their own plays and even their own motion pictures, one of which, "Kuehle Wampe," is about to be shown in this country. But the life with which it deals has now disappeared.

Today the ruling party in Germany is not only fighting the workers politically; it is also waging a cultural war against them. Having forbidden them to hold office, it is now forbidding them to gather on playing fields. Their gymnasiums have been closed; the hard-won equipment has been smashed or stolen, their newspapers, magazines and theatres abolished. Women are being told to get back into the kitchen. The children of the working class are being driven out of their nurseries and kindergartens; the buildings where they played with blocks are being turned into barracks for Herr Hitler's tin soldiers. This battle against the working class is being fought on all fronts, even the kindergarten front. The campaign for the rebirth of imperial Germany is also a campaign for the abolition of fresh air, sunlight, good living, and for the preservation of ignorance, war, tuberculosis and bedbugs.

Toward Unified Banking

BECAUSE the President acted with swift courage to meet the immediate banking crisis a thoroughgoing reform of our banking system is not necessarily assured. Indeed, the very success of the emergency operation may diminish the pressure for reform. Even before the operation was over other crises demanded the surgeon's immediate attention. Only the use of the knife could establish the credit of the government. Debt and low prices had prostrated agriculture, while the same forces threatened the railroads and industry in general. Just around the corner lurked the problems of tariff, war debts and markets. The specter of unemployment was reaching fantastic proportions.

In the face of so many emergency situations it would be small wonder if the social questions underlying prosperity and depression alike should be overlooked. It is a question of repair vs. reconstruction. The public is ready for the first but still fearful of the second. Unfortunately repair alone is unlikely to remedy defects so disastrous as to precipitate present conditions. If we are to have decent security in our banking system we must press for real reform now. Once the impact of present disaster wears off, complacency will reappear. Even now it is not lacking. If we let this opportunity go by default we shall deserve a system no better than we have. Reconstruction will be worthless unless the foundation is a sound banking structure.

It is heartening, therefore, to find an impulse toward banking reform coming from the Federal Reserve Board. Reserve officials have for some time advocated a unification of commercial banking under a single authority. A year ago the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency requested Governor Meyer to suggest a constitutional method of creating such a system. The recently published opinion of Mr. Walter Wyatt, counsel of the Board, is the result. Mr. Wyatt has no doubts of the power of Congress under the Constitution to establish a unified system. His opinion offers several grounds on which Congress may act. He then proceeds to analyze the history of the "competition in laxity" between the federal government and the forty-eight states. Finally he offers definite proposals for legislation by Congress.

The constitutional questions involved need not be examined here. Suffice it to say that Mr. Wyatt's opinion is convincing and rests on principles established by some of the most significant decisions of the United States Supreme Court, of which *McCulloch vs. Maryland* is only one. When our national banking system was inaugurated Congress successfully asserted the right to nationalize the currency by placing a prohibitive tax on the issuance of bank notes by the state banks. With the growth of deposit banking and the widespread use of checks in ordinary transactions, the uniform soundness of this type of "currency" became likewise a matter of national concern. Certainly in the face of Mr. Wyatt's opinion Congress cannot dodge its responsibility by a plea of *non possumus*. But Mr. Wyatt does not let the matter rest there. In marshaling the results of this "competition in laxity" which has undermined the efforts of the Federal Reserve System he becomes an advocate. It becomes clear that in the face of this competition the Reserve Banks were impotent to correct abuses, that where they were supposed to have responsibility they had in fact no authority. Congress may learn from his report—if it does not already know it—that it was this competition which fostered a wild-cat banking era hospitable to all the forms of abuse with which the country is all too familiar.

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As for the legislation which Mr. Wyatt proposes, it appears merely to embody into the law the principles on which the law is based. It combines a number of prohibitions which in fact would eliminate state-controlled commercial banking. Outside the national system there would be no salvation. Beyond the establishment of a unified system with its inherent advantages the proposals do not go. Their significance, therefore, aside from their origin, is that of an initial step in the direction of good banking.

How far in that direction this step takes us can be answered only by a statement of what good banking really is. Recent history shows what it is not. Any system under which 10,000 banks fail in a dozen years is not a good system. Any system which unduly accelerates credit expansion in good times and applies the brakes suddenly and inexorably in bad times is not a good system. To go on with the indictment would be superfluous.

Commercial banking has two real functions. The first is the security of deposits. The second is the extension of commercial credits to meet the legitimate needs of commerce and industry. So long as the seduction of huge profits threatens the conservative judgment of the human beings who manage and control the banks, it is difficult to devise safeguards which will ensure these two essentials.

There is now an agitation in many quarters for governmental guarantee of bank deposits. By what reason of right or policy is it proposed to place such a responsibility on the government without giving the government or its agents corresponding powers? Is the government, that is, the taxpayer, to guarantee the banker and his shareholders against personal consequences of recklessness and at the same time permit them to pocket the profits when times are good? A federal guarantee of deposits without the assumption of commensurate authority would actually put a premium on bad banking and consequently becomes indefensible.

The answer is that the federal government should not merely guarantee all deposits in commercial banks, but should assume a corresponding broad control. As a corollary, all profits, after providing for fixed charges and adequate reserves, should either accrue to the government or be distributed in depositors' dividends.

If the government is to assume these functions the appropriate agencies are not far to seek. The Federal Reserve Banks have an experience and a philosophy of public banking policy which could readily be adapted to the new set-up. Their present dual relationship to the government and the banks would be altered only in degree. If it is true that they have not been free from criticism, it is equally true that they have never been given adequate powers for the control of banking policies. Moreover, they constitute a public agency relatively well protected against political interference in the bad sense of the term.

George Soule outlined in a recent issue of The New Republic a method by which this desideratum might be achieved. He suggested that each of the twelve Federal Reserve Banks might at once acquire ownership of all commercial banks in its district through the simple medium of an exchange of stock. The Reserve Bank might issue its non-voting preferred stock with limited returns to the present shareholders of the commercial banks, the value of their holdings being computed on the basis of the bank's net assets. The preferred stocks, of course, would carry no double liability.

The operations of the banks under this plan would be functionally similar to their present operations. The twelve Reserve Banks would continue to act as fiscal agents for the government in both domestic and foreign exchange transactions. They would continue to act as banks of reserve deposit. In the issuance of currency, of course, they would have a monopoly. They would be the sole licensing agency for the commercial banks, with power to effect consolidations, conduct stringent examinations and remove management for cause. They would determine (authoritatively at last) policies of money and credit. The subsidiary commercial banks would in general maintain their individuality and would alone be authorized to receive deposits subject to withdrawal by check. Their investments, however, would be subject to strict limitations and their loans directed to the financing of self-liquidating transactions of limited maturity. Long-term and semi-capital loans would be left to the investment bankers.

In our judgment, therefore, Mr. Wyatt's proposals do not go far enough. Even if they were coupled, as they doubtless would be, with complete separation of the various types of banking—commercial, trust, savings and investment—they would still fall short of providing the necessary controls. These controls are essential if we are to have any guarantee of the security of our bank deposits. They must be vested in the government or its agents if we are to have federal guarantee of deposits. It is no merely academic truth that power and responsibility—and profits—must be lodged in the same hands.

THE NEW REPUBLIC

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Revising the Treaties

"THANK HEAVEN, it has come at last!" That was the first response of every generous mind to Mussolini's initiative for the revision of the Peace Treaties. We had condemned them in 1919, and from that day to this we had gone on repeating: "Revise them," much as Cato repeated his less generous advice regarding Carthage. Most of us believed that they ruined the League of Nations from the start, and some of us held that it was hopeless to propose disarmament until this preliminary work was achieved. Overgrown armaments are necessary to maintain an imposed settlement. The present structure of Europe will not stand on its own justice and logic: it must be propped by bayonets. When, accordingly, Mussolini with Mr. MacDonald's approval proposed revision, we all applauded. At last in the world's chaos we saw a ray of hope. Nor would we grudge his meed of thanks to the Duce: with all his faults and crimes, he was never a small man.

Second thoughts have moderated this first spontaneous enthusiasm. One learns as a student of politics to scrutinize motives. What was Mr. MacDonald's purpose in his somewhat theatrical flight to Rome? It followed his rather startling compliment at Geneva to Hitler's Foreign Secretary, whom he hailed as a great servant of peace, at a moment when the rest of us saw the rubber truncheons in Nazi hands and failed to perceive the olive branches. Mr. MacDonald is never spontaneous: he calculates his compliments. As I watched his performances from a distance, familiarity with his technique suggested a possible interpretation. He is playing snake-charmer to the two Fascist Powers, not as simple-minded persons suppose, to bring them together, but rather to keep them apart. He dreads, as the French have long dreaded, the formation in Europe of a party of the dissatisfied Powers. He will break it up by smiling on it. Mussolini shall do his revising, if he can, but he shall do it arm in arm wth MacDonald. It shall be an Anglo-Italian rather than an Italo-German enterprise. He will collaborate with Italy, patronize Germany and comfort France, now dividing, now uniting, on any pattern save the dreaded coalition—Italy and Germany *plus* Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria, with Russia lying in wait. In short, Mr. MacDonald is doing what British Premiers have usually done: he is adjusting the balance of power.

About the plan itself, if there be a plan, we known as yet next to nothing, and Mussolini's document at the moment of writing is still unpublished. There is, we are told, some pledge to keep the peace for ten years; but this is now as necessary a formality in all modern treaties as a profession of faith in the Holy and undivided Trinity was in the ancient model. Such a promise with a definite time limit may be perhaps a little more sincere than the unlimited vows of earlier pacts, though one reflects that the new German militia may be ready for action in rather less than a decade. For the rest, the little that we thought we knew about revision is itself being revised. Mussolini had apparently a clear idea about method. Revision was a job for the four Great Powers of the West. They were to propose and presumably to impose the necessary changes. No sooner, however, had Mr. MacDonald quitted Rome, than he began to stammer and qualify in talking of this aspect of the plan. Everyone would be consulted: the League would not be ignored. He seems finally to have swallowed the French formula, that revision must proceed within the framework of the League. With that amendment Mussolini's plan is transformed. It is no longer a proposal to set up an international dictatorship. The League's procedure is based on unanimity. Revision, therefore, will require the free consent of everyone concerned. If any gorged Power has a superfluous province that it would like to present to a dissatisfied Power, the League will ratify the transaction. If that is all that revision means, the alarm of Poland and the Little Entente seems superfluous.

How, after all, does one revise a treaty? There are two processes known to diplomacy: dictation and barter. The former is used after a war by the victors at the expense of the vanquished: the latter is the normal procedure of peace. But negotiation on a basis of barter seems wholly inapplicable in this case. The defeated powers have nothing to give away: at the most they might lower their tariffs for the benefit of a cheerful giver. One may doubt whether the four Great Powers, even if they were unanimous in dictation, could extract much in the way of territory from Poland and the Little Entente; but if they are too scrupulous to use pressure, will they get anything at all? One does not easily imagine France putting strong pressure on these minor powers: they are her allies: she values their good will.

But perhaps the Great Powers will provide from their possessions the territory that must change hands at revision? The rumor rang, after the meeting in Rome, that Mr. MacDonald was willing to restore the mandated area of Tanganyika to Germany. He has repudiated this generous suggestion with much indignation. It is perhaps more likely, as the Portuguese suspect and the British deny, that he might assign their African colony of Angola to the Germans, as Sir Edward Grey did on the eve of the War. But presumably some

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price would be paid. Then will a Power which cannot pay reparations buy colonies? Italy, moreover, has rival appetites: we do not yet know what she asks. In two years the Japanese mandate over certain Pacific islands will nominally lapse, but the League will hardly perpetrate the joke of authorizing Germany to take them. One assumes that it will be equally deaf to the pleasant Nazi suggestion that Poland might compensate herself for the loss of the Corridor by seizing the Russian Ukraine. In short, it is difficult to name confidently a single item of territorial revision which could be accomplished without armed coercion. It is just conceivable that furious "moral pressure," combined with commercial concessions, might ease conditions in the Polish Corridor in some minor detail. Possibly for cash some derelict colony may be found for Germany. But, in sum, the revision that is certainly possible is already as good as done. Reparations are ended: equality in arms is promised. And not even these would have been yielded had not Germany threatened open rebellion. It seems, then, that the scope of any voluntary revision must be modest.

Then were we all wrong in clamoring for revision? Right in theory we certainly were, for unless there is some territorial revision, a rearmed Germany may, one day, help herself by wars. But we were unrealistic if we really supposed that the presence in the Covenant of Article 19 would suffice to bring about territorial revision. The League has no power to require it, or indeed to impose any considerable change that rouses any resistance in its members. The one chance lay in dictation, and it seems that the victors are not yet sufficiently afraid of Hitler's Germany to use dictation in its favor.

There is, however, a very slow and precarious way out of this difficulty, which some of us have advocated. It is, in brief, to lessen the importance of ownership over territory. If Englishmen were sure that they would lose nothing by transferring Tanganyika to Germany, if Poles had nothing to fear from the surrender of their section of Silesia, revision would be easy. No reasonable man would resist it hotly, nor would any reasonable man be overurgent in demanding it. What, then, apart from the mirage of prestige, is at stake in ownership? First, sometimes an advantage for military strategy: always the right to use the inhabitants as cannon fodder. Second, always a market that one may fence with a tariff wall: often a raw material that one can monopolize: always a field for capital investment. Third, one party or both may be concerned over the cultural rights of the inhabitants. Finally, the inhabitants, even if they were at ease over their language and their schools, may have a strong and reasonable preference, because the level of wages and social services is higher on one side of the frontier than on the other.

If this is a fairly adequate analysis of the substantial isues that center in ownership, it is evident enough what we must try to do if we would lessen the significance of territorial possession. First, we must bring about complete disarmament. Second, we must abolish customs houses. Third, we must ensure complete cultural freedom, and fourth, level up the conditions of labor in the less advanced countries to those of the more advanced. These are the obvious and theoretically simple steps, but when these are taken there remain others, as important and more controversial, that turn on the future of capital investment, raw materials and perhaps one should add currency, price levels and movements of populations. In short, if we wish to make frontiers malleable, we must break down over a wide area of subjects national sovereignty itself, and build up a complete system of world government, both political and economic. In such conditions territorial revision would be easy, but it would also be unimportant.

In the present state of the world such an analysis is a triumphant *reductio ad absurdum*. The process at best would be excessively slow, the work not of ten years but of a generation. It is a summons to swim against the stream of world history. Our planet is not moving in this direction, nor can it begin to move toward this goal while two-thirds of Europe is under Fascist and ultra-nationalist governments. That is the first and most obvious difficulty. When that is faced, there confronts us the still more formidable question, whether such a development could take place under capitalism. If it could, it would certainly, by its elaborate controls, transform competitive private enterprise past recognition.

It seems, then, that the optimists were mistaken in hoping much from Mussolini's initiative.

H. N. BRAILSFORD.

London.

The Ship of Night

The ship of night, with twilightcolored sails,
Dreamed down the golden river of the west,
And Jesus' mother mused the sighing gales
While Jesus' mouth shot drinking on her breast.

Her soft doveslippered eyes strayed in the dusk
Creaming backward from the fallen day,
And a haughty star broke yellow musk
Where dead kings slept the long cold years away.

The hushed voices on the stair of heaven
Upward mounting, wake each drowsing king;
The dawn is milk to swell her breast, her seven
Sorrows crown her with a choiring ring;
A star to fleck young Jesus' eyes is given,
And white winds in the duskfilled sails to sing.

WILLIAM FAULKNER.

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The Power Age

DON QUIXOTE fought windmills, imagining them to be giants. He adored the old scullery maid Dulcinea, regarding her as his inspiring genius. He was a symbol of the dying age of knighthood—his distorted mind, unable to grasp the social and economic changes of his time, transformed him into a figure appealing and grotesque.

Are not the modern knights of the dead Machine Age, who advocate a "new deal" with the same old pack of cards, counterparts of the old Knight of the Rueful Countenance? What are the realities which the "left-over" leaders clothe in the glamorous armor of bygone days? Are they not entertaining the hallucinations of a frightened and befuddled mind?

We are confronted today with the colossal problems of unemployment and want amid plenty. One frequently hears the phrase "technological unemployment," as if the increased productivity of our Power Age were its major cause. Though it is true that with the aid of power and technological improvements a man can now produce twice as much as he could before, it does not follow that consumption of products will be doubled, for even at the peak of prosperity the average per-capita yearly income was only $764. The problem, as a matter of fact, is not whether we need more goods, better housing, etc.; the problem is whether it is possible for us to buy them. Therefore, since the entire possible output of goods cannot be sold at a profit, as Mr. Wiggin and others explain, we stop producing goods. In other words, what we have is unemployment of technology and not "technological unemployment." Another common economic fallacy closely connected with the same idea is that to produce goods we must employ *men* to work for a certain period of *time*. When the production of goods is stopped because no profitable market can be found for them, we choose to have unemployed masses of *men* rather than a reduction in the *time* of work.

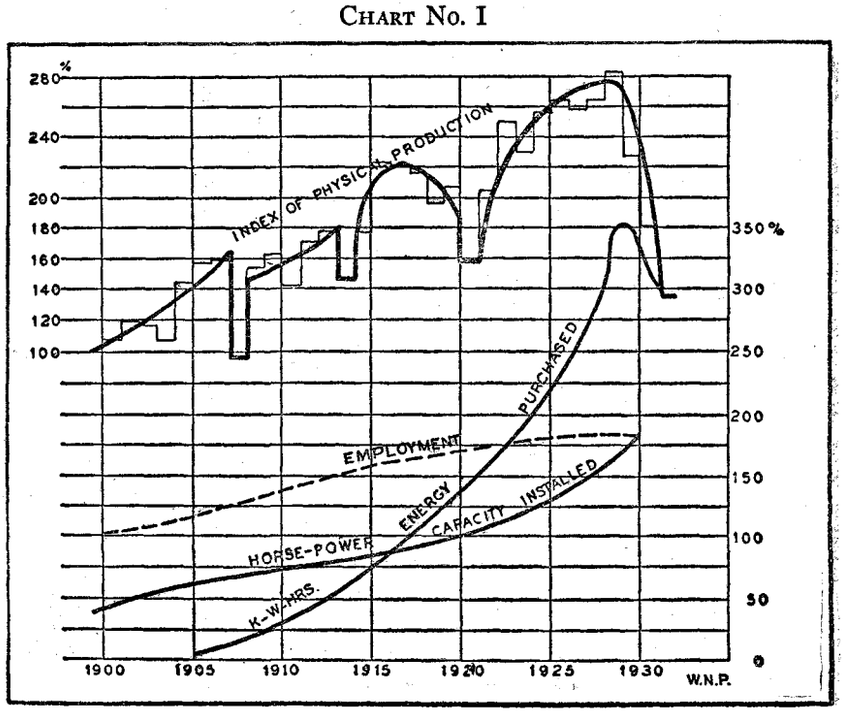
The third example of mental aberration in economic ideas is equally widespread. If (it is argued) there is not enough purchasing power in the country to consume the possible output at a given price level, let us reduce the price by reducing wages. This argument loses sight of the fact that people who are earning less than $2,000 a year consume two-thirds of the goods. Consequently the cutting of wages means a further restriction of the market and the subsequent reduction of employment.

The fourth economic delusion is that scrapping obsolete equipment and rehabilitating industries by new machinery will bring back good times just as it always has. Such day-dreaming again conflicts with reality. Though our capital-goods industry (machinery and raw materials) may temporarily employ a few on this rehabilitation work—as a matter of fact our industries are already greatly overequipped—this process is definitely aimed at the increased productive efficiency of the consumer-goods industries and, as a result, this move would inevitably increase our present unemployment.

Similarly, many irrational persons, alarmed by the spread of unemployment, discontent, the undernourishment of school children and the necessity of charity donations and even doles, confuse the share-the-work plan with plans for the relief of the unemployed. Indeed it is a relief, but only to the charity organizations and donors, inasmuch as the cost of the support of the destitute is shifted to those who themselves are only one jump ahead of destitution. This, together with the congressional investigation of our great national banking institution, is most effective revolutionary propaganda.

One could multiply these examples of economic hallucinations, but the point already seems clear enough. We live in the unreal environment of dreams of the bygone Machine Age and take the

CHART NO. I



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relations which had a meaning then, as if they still existed today.

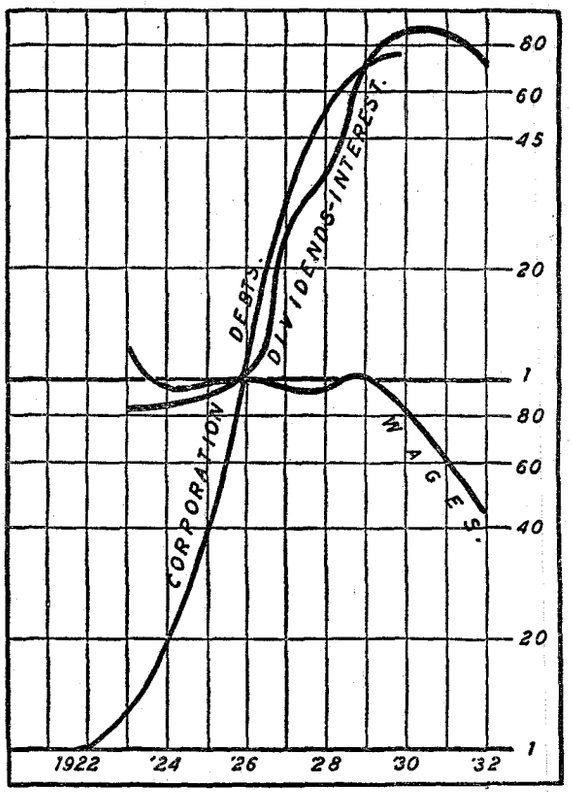
What are these essential relations which were true in the Machine Age but no longer exist in our Power Age?

It has been true that the volume of the product (hence profit) stood in a definite relation to the number of men employed. Today we witness a great divergence in the productivity per man hour in different plants of the same industry. In one group of blast furnaces, for example, the production per man hour is nine times as great as in another: some oil refineries are cracking 224 times more petroleum per thousand man hours than others (141,000 barrels against 630 barrels). The myth of the relation between production and the number of workers and hours of work is shattered by the advent of our Power Age technology.

It is also true that output, efficiency and profit were in a definite relation to the capital invested in the plant and equipment. Today a slight rearrangement of electrically driven equipment doubles the productivity per man hour without calling for any investment. Today an improvement in planning and management technique creates economies and results in increased production out of all proportion to the fee of the consulting engineer. The myth of the past Machine Age that only capital investment yields increased production and profit has been exploded. However, the American Engineering Council disapproves of the shorter-work-week bills, even though the book value of many plants shows an appalling inflation of values when technological or managerial improvements were capitalized on the basis of increased output.

In an article in The New Republic of January 4, I sketched the transition of our industry from the Machine Age into the Power Age and indicated a few effects of the new technology on the qualifications of workers and on the task of management. But the economic consequences are much more momentous and fraught with social repercussions, just as they were after the first industrial revolution of the eighteenth century. One need only remember the Chartist movement, Europe in 1848, the reduction of the working day from sixteen hours to eight hours by legislation (not by the process of a "natural evolution" as the American Engineering Council hopes for) and other economic changes.

CHART NO. II



What are the earmarks of the economic structure of the Power Age? Let us examine the curves on Chart I. Indices of physical production from 1894 to 1931 appear on top. Between the depressions of 1907, 1914 and 1921 we see the periods of recuperation and prosperity, but how different they are now! Instead of curving up, as they did in the machine age since 1910, when electric power transformed the mode of production, technology of processes and technique of management, these periods of recuperation shoot up and rapidly curve down, depressed by the limitations imposed by the economic conditions which failed to keep pace with the rapid march of science and engineering. Observe the growth of the employment curve. In manufacturing industries its growth was retarded, while the physical output climbed rapidly.

Now look at the curve that rises rapidly and crosses both curves. It represents the stormy advent of power use in industry, a sweeping wave, rising from nothing in the years 1905-10, which represents the rapidly growing sale of electricity by the public utilities to the wholesale consumers. Observe the accelerated growth of power capacity installed in industry.

Such is the picture of our industry leaving the Machine Age and reaching the higher level of the Power Age.

The difference is not merely quantitative—not simply that of bigger and better machines with more power than men and mules. The difference is not merely of degree, but of *kind*. Moreover, there is this cardinal point. Our economy today is based on power resources, not on time expenditure. In the past, technology and civilization were based on the golden rule of mechanics: *what is spent in time is gained in power*. As long as we had limited sources of power—mostly man-power—time was an important factor and only simple machines were used to accomplish our ambitious tasks.

At present our technology places at our disposal an unlimited source of power (for practical considerations) in an endless variety of forms and applications. Thus the corollary of the golden rule of mechanics is supreme: *what is spent in power is gained in time*. Our entire social-economic basis

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is thereby reversed. The time necessary to support life and to create a higher civilization is extended; effort in doing work is reduced; physical exertion is supplanted by mental alertness and prompt reactions. Science and engineering have produced the means to extend our lifetime and advance our enjoyment of life. But we bungled the whole thing by applying the rules of one order to the problems of an utterly different dimension, fancying that we could start an auto by saying "giddap"!

As a result, what do we find? We increased our productive capacity and potentialities of output, roughly, a hundredfold within the last score of years. Even considering the hodge-podge of new, efficient plants and slow, antiquated ones in our industries, we were able to produce in 1931, with a thirty-five-hour week, the same amount of goods that required fifty-one hours a week only eight years ago. This is a one-third average increase. In individual instances this increase is well over 100 percent.

Yet what was really the actual output? The indices of physical production differ. The Federal Reserve Board, taking 1923 as 101, estimates the 1929 production as 119; The Bulletin of the Taylor Society, taking 1923 as 100, shows the physical production in 1929 as 117.8. Obviously we are not making full use of all our potentialities; obviously technology was unemployed even during the peak years of prosperity; obviously our productive machinery is idle to a considerable extent, stifled by nineteenth-century economics.

But who used this meager increase of industrial output? If we consult the statistics of distribution to consumers during the years 1919 to 1929, the index of distribution to consumers rose less than 4 percent. The standard of living, in other words, did not improve, increased productivity was of no benefit to the men, women and children of our nation. If there was an increase of production, it was obviously in the increased output of capital goods, not consumers' goods. And this created more idle equipment, more idle men, more overhead charges on idle plants, more senseless investments in the ruthless drive for profits.

Was this drive successful? At least in this respect the results were obvious. The index of dividend and interest payments shows that they doubled from 1923 (100) to 1929 (212). Then the crisis came, but even so interest and dividends continued to climb for a while.

The same, however, could not be said regarding wages. The manufacturing pay roll declined from 100 in 1923 to 95.2 in 1929 and then continued precipitately down:

	Actual	"Real" (adjusted to the cost of living) pay roll
1929.....	95.2	96.5
1930.....	77.8	80.5
1931.....	58.9	66.4
1932.....	45.0	53.3

Indeed, it was a successful attempt to block the way toward recovery by undermining the purchasing capacity of the country.

Representing these economic relations graphically, we see on Chart 2 that the rising cobra of corporation debts dominates the picture. Just beneath it, we see the curve of similarly rising dividends and interest payments. Far below, the line of the dwindling stream of wages in manufacturing industries curves downward.

As our purchasing power waned, the crushing load of debt accumulated, rising from $42,386 million in 1922 to $74,661 million by 1929. It is becoming increasingly plain that neither the incantations of miracle men nor the funds available for relief work can do the trick.

The logic of the situation is as evident as it is inescapable. We must employ new tactics. We cannot make a new deal by using the same old pack of marked cards—we must *strike for work*.

Strikes usually meant a refusal to work, a refusal to convert one's labor into power when the benefits of power are not equitably distributed. But a strike should now mean the refusal to remain idle and slowly starve. It would imply the taking over and operation of plants by the unemployed, who could manufacture what they needed and exchange produce for goods and goods for produce, utilizing a special scrip issued by themselves which ignored any other profit value than that of better living.

The logic of the Power Age dictates that the power must be used to support life and to create time for living. But this cannot be done in one community or in one industry. Power, permeating the whole country and entering every activity, demands that a strike against idleness must be national in its scope. Moreover, it must be planned just as all economic activities were planned during the War. This necessarily presupposes federal control.

During the War we commandeered factories and plants to produce essential commodities, we scrambled railroad cars, irrespective of ownership, to transport fuel; we took possession of property on the mere responsibility of maintaining it in repair. We planned our export-imports and assigned cargoes and routes; we scheduled deliveries, we established coalless Mondays and wheatless Tuesdays and certain meatless days. In short, we planned our activities as best we could to accomplish our aims.

Today if we wish to wage war against the anarchy of laissez-faire, incompetency, unscrupulousness and special privilege in the face of a national calamity which is greater than war, we will find ourselves better prepared and equipped to put idle plants, idle technique and idle men back to work.

WALTER N. POLAKOV.

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The Scottsboro Trial

WITH THE verdict of guilty, with the death penalty for Haywood Patterson brought in by the Decatur jury on April 9, there dies all hope of a fair trial for Negroes in the South. Haywood Patterson was sentenced to death for the second time exactly two years after his first trial, which was reversed as unfair by the United States Supreme Court. The first trial was carried on while excitement ran high after two girls, Victoria Price and Ruby Bates, accused nine Negroes of assault. This was supposed to have happened between Stevenson and Paint Rock, Alabama, on a freight train.

The Negro boys had no adequate lawyer. They were tried and sentenced to die in the electric chair within ten days after the alleged crime. They have told many people that they were beaten up in jail, intimidated and made to accuse one another. All the South's horror at the crime of rape perpetrated by a Negro man on a white woman led to their speedy conviction.

This time the trial was carried on with Judge James E. Horton, who was the symbol of fairness, sitting on the bench; with one of the most brilliant criminal lawyers in America, Samuel S. Leibowitz, defending them, with other eminent lawyers, Joseph Brodsky of New York and G. W. Chamlee of Chattanooga, assisting him.

Samuel Leibowitz took the case feeling assured, from the examination of the former testimony, that no "fouler frame-up had ever been perpetrated in the United States." No unprejudiced person could have listened to the testimony unfold without being convinced of the innocence of Haywood Patterson, the boy on trial.

The judge's charge, made so gravely, so earnestly was a moving exhortation to fairness. Yet the verdict brought in was identical with that given two years ago in a community full of aroused passion. It is evident that Haywood Patterson—and as fared this boy so will the others fare—was tried and condemned to death, not by the weight of evidence but by the same savage race prejudice which condemned him two years ago. The case was tried and prejudged from the moment that Victoria Price sat on the witness stand and in a hard voice identified Haywood Patterson as her assailant.

It was the word of a white woman against that of a black man, and not all the testimony in God's high heaven, not the fact that she had perjured herself nor that Ruby Bates swore that no Negro had touched them, not the doctor's damning testimony, made any difference after that.

It is a fortunate thing that during the first week of the trial the foundations for a new reversal by the Supreme Court were laid. During the first week it was the jury system of the South which was on trial. A far-reaching attack was made by the defense lawyers on the white supremacy in the courts of the South.

Everyone knows that the Fourteenth Amendment is always and everywhere violated in the South through the "willful exclusion of Negroes from jury lists." Issues more fundamental than the so-called "Scottsboro case" were at stake. During the two years since the first trial the public consciousness has been plowed and harrowed by mass action.

What started as an ordinary criminal case has grown and deepened until social implications are of the widest sort. It has taken two years of untiring effort to bring out the many ramifications of this complex case. Samuel Leibowitz has stated, "If it were not for the International Labor Defense these boys would have burned long ago," and it is true. Now for the first time in Southern legal history the failure to have Negroes on juries was being questioned.

For two days Negro witnesses filed before the court. There were doctors, preachers, business men, professors. Almost all had college degrees, some more than one. All were middle-aged men of substance, respected in their communities. Each knew many other Negroes as competent to serve on juries as they were themselves.

No one had ever heard of a Negro serving on an Alabama jury. No one ever heard of a Negro juror anywhere in the South. Everyone knows that Negroes, whatever their attainments or education, are not allowed on Southern juries. Now for the first time in Southern legal history the omission of Negroes on juries was being questioned in this Decatur courtroom.

The jury lists were called for by Leibowitz. These records are secret, and never before in the history of the state has the immense red book been produced in any court. Sheriff "Bud" Davis, who is one of the biggest men alive, bore in the jury book. A flurry ran through the courtroom. The Attorney General looked amazed. He had not expected that the court would permit the inspection of the files.

Leibowitz went up to the book and brought his palms down on it in a tap of satisfaction. Vast Jury Commissioner Tidwell, whose red face indicates high blood pressure, said he didn't recognize most of the names and didn't know if there were many Negroes on the files or not.

"I'll go through these files and prove no Negroes appear on the lists if it takes fifteen years, if it takes till doomsday!" Leibowitz announced.

The judge finally ruled that the chief counsel for the defense had established a prima-facie case

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against the jury system of the state of Alabama in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment. Attorney General Knight was ordered to proceed with evidence for the state. Only one witness, Jury Commissioner Arthur J. Tidwell, was called. He said, when cross-questioned, that he did not know a Negro fit for jury duty. Leibowitz then made the motion that the venire be quashed. The courtroom was tense as the judge said quietly, "Motion denied." The long fought battle against the exclusion of Negroes from the jury was lost, yet the first stage of this trial was looked on everywhere as a victory for the defense. For the first time the Southern jury system had been challenged, and in a trial so historic that each detail will be known over the entire world.

One thing about the whole elaborate show remained real and that was the poisonous feeling of hate and race prejudice in the courtroom. It was strikingly visible on the first day that the defendant was brought into court, after a week of argument over the jury system.

Directly under Judge Horton in the witness stand sits Victoria Price. She claims to be twenty-one and looks older. It is impossible to exaggerate the girl's appalling hardness. She is more than tough. She is terrifying in her depravity. Her head comes in direct line with that of Judge Horton—a strange contrast. Between them, they compass the best and worst that this part of the country can produce.

The courtroom is crammed. To the left is a section reserved for Negroes. Outside two hundred more people wait for vacancies behind a barrier, a soldier guarding them. State militia with fixed bayonets guard the stairs leading to the courtroom. Downstairs a crowd of whites and Negroes mill restlessly around the corridors, which are punctuated with big brass cuspidors sitting on rubber mats, a halo of tobacco juice around each mat.

The audience is full of frustrated faces and faces avid, eager and full of hate—the pack in leash. There is talk of a mob of fifty who are said to have come from Scottsboro. The air is acrid with the smell of unwashed men.

On the left, outside the railing dividing court from audience, are two Negro reporters. Their presence has caused a great deal of comment in the white audience. I have heard people say that they "ought to be run out of town."

Leibowitz is cross-questioning Victoria Price. Under his gentle, satirical, unremitting inquiries she becomes restless and defiant, crackling with anger, malignant. It is as if her emotion was the mob's barometer. They lean forward tensely at her words. The Attorney General exclaims perpetually "I protest!" The examination goes on inexorably.

Leibowitz is a great criminal lawyer. He is said to have defended eighty-five men for manslaughter and murder without losing a case. His manner is easy, almost gentle. He does not need to raise his clear, well modulated voice. He has a mastery of his material that is like the virtuosity of a great artist. "I'm not a great lawyer," he says in answer to a compliment, "I'm only thorough." He is horribly thorough. He seems to know every foot traveled by the girls on the fateful journey, everything they have done in the days preceding the alleged crime. He knows who their boy friends were and what their relations were with the boy friends. He has Victoria Price's police records. He seems to know as much as God. It is more like the dissection of a life than a cross-questioning. It is as though one could see the misspent days of Victoria Price shredded to bits. The girl is full of hate and venom! She persistently denies everything, while Leibowitz shreds apart her life with his patient scalpel.

The audience in the courtroom could not forgive him for what he revealed about Victoria Price. But feeling rose to a higher pitch on Friday, the next-to-last day of the trial, when Solicitor Wade Wright made his summation to the jury. He is an enormous man, florid, dark, and during his appeal to the jury he grew so purple and swollen with his emotion that one felt he might at any moment burst and scatter dark blood over the courtroom.

As he shouted and ranted, the feeling which had been hidden, kept down by the fair and humane judge, came out like a punctured boil. As he shouted that "no Alabama jury would listen to witnesses bought with Jew money from New York," you could hear murmurs of approval in the courtroom. Members of the jury leaned forward. Wright was speaking the language of prejudice and hate which everyone wanted, which everyone understood.

Just as I was leaving, I heard local public opinion speak. Beside me in the railway station was a man of about fifty dressed in overalls. He had shrewd brown eyes and a good head. He said he was the county detective. He commented on the cleverness of Leibowitz.

"He's the best investigator the Decatur courtroom ever saw—though not so good a speaker as some. But he's up against an awful hard jury."

I suggested that they seemed like a very fine lot of men, an intelligent jury.

"They're that all right," he agreed, "but there's some hard convictors among them!"

"What verdict do you think they'll bring in?"

"They'll bring in guilty with the death penalty," he said with the quiet assurance of positive knowledge.

"They made out a pretty strong case for the Negro boys," I said. He nodded.

"They had a smart lawyer. But it was all over from the moment Victoria Price told her story. Don't need to go any further, I thought."

"If you'd been on the jury what verdict would you have given?"

"I'd 'a had to give the one they're goin' to bring in," he said gently and without heat. "Any-

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one would have to after hearin' her say that nigger raped her."

"What about the other testimony?"

"All that didn't count a mite with the jury," he said, still with the gentleness of one so sure of his ground that he has no need to protest. And I listening to him knew that in him I heard all the South speaking.

He was wrong in one thing. He expected the jury, the "hard convictors," to be out only an hour. They were out nearly twenty-four. There was among them one man who had stood out for life imprisonment.

Victoria Price, a "woman of easy virtue," just out of the workhouse where she had served a sentence for adultery, who had been convicted of vagrancy, who lived her promiscuous existence in hobo jungles, opened her hard mouth in condemnation of a Negro boy and all the rest of the trial became a farce.

The honorable, compassionate judge, the evidence of doctors, the testimony of Ruby Bates, all the intricate machinery of the law was thereafter functioning in vacuum. It became a farce, a legal dance, a posturing. The masterly summation of Leibowitz need not have been made, nor even the judge's charge. All those things were as if nonexistent, a huge game, a gigantic keeping up of appearances.

MARY HEATON VORSE.

Washington Notes

F. D. Turns toward Europe—Conference in Washington—Shelving the World Court Again—Big and Little Hoarders

WITH MOST of its domestic program through, on its way through or in such shape that it clearly can be put through, the Roosevelt administration appears now to be giving thought to foreign problems. It is about time. True enough, as the President has said, the crisis which confronted him when he first took hold compelled an exclusive concentration upon domestic affairs. However, with every power he asked for granted to him and with every measure he has proposed passed in practically the shape he desired, so far as domestic matters are concerned the problem has become now an administrative rather than a legislative one.

Not for a good many months to come can it really be known whether he has emphasized speed at the expense of sagacity, or given us, as everybody is bound to hope, a splendid combination of the two. In the meantime, the war debts, reciprocal-tariff arrangements and the World Economic Conference loom large upon the administration horizon, and "action" in these directions must soon be taken. I think it is a fact that Mr. Roosevelt has no such clear idea of what he wants to do in foreign affairs as he has in matters of purely local import. This, I think, was unmistakably shown by the lack of conciseness and concreteness in his discussions of the general European situation during the campaign, and by the fact that in no conversation he has had with either Sir Ronald Lindsay or anyone else has he given any real indication of a thought-out plan.

This does not mean, however, that he will not have a definite and practical set of proposals to make when the moment, now fast approaching, arrives. The fact is that a plan is now being outlined, Assistant Secretary of State Moley having, it is believed, more to do with its final shape than anyone else, though the esteemed and mouselike Colonel House keeps in pretty close touch. However, the point I wish to make is that, in the months preceding the inauguration, much less attention was given to foreign than to domestic policies. All the real study given the former has occurred during the past three weeks, and the foundations upon which the administration will rest its policy are only now being laid.

For example, the notion of assembling in Washington a conference of nearly all the big powers this month to discuss the World Conference originated less than two weeks ago and was, I am told, conveyed by telephone to Norman H. Davis, who is now abroad as a sort of general Roosevelt representative. Mr. Davis did not, I am informed, take this idea to Europe with him. It has been presented to him since he left and he is now explaining it to the higher officials of the great foreign powers.

Secretary of State Hull is understood to be pleased with this plan. It seems practical and necessary that some such preliminary conference be held if any real progress is to be made at the general conference. Actually, the real work is done in the preliminary discussions, and to have them held in Washington would put the administration in an advantageous position. By that time, for example, Congress may be expected to have passed legislation authorizing the President to negotiate reciprocal-tariff treaties. Also, Mr. Roosevelt may by that time be empowered to defer debt payments when June 15 arrives.

In ratifying the Hoover moratorium, Congress added a provision explicitly prohibiting the Executive from taking any step toward further postponement or reduction without the specific consent of Congress. Clearly, Mr. Roosevelt, if he is to have any leeway whatever in the debt negotiations, must get rid of this prohibition. Otherwise his hands are completely tied. There are several ways now being considered by which this could be done, some of them extremely ingenious and others more direct and straightforward. It is expected that a decision as to method will be reached very shortly and that the Congress will give him the power he wants. The resolution has not yet been written, but it has been discussed by the President with congressional leaders of his party, who assure him there will be no real difficulty about its passage.

It seems that I wrote a little prematurely of the determination of Mr. Roosevelt to force a vote on the World Court protocol at this session in order not to let one of his platform pledges go over until December. Such was his purpose and he communicated it in no uncertain terms to Senator Joe Robinson, the Democratic Senate leader, who in turn communicated it to Senator Pittman, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, who in turn started the machinery to bring the proposal out. Of course, the howls of anguish from the Hearst newspapers filled the air and

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the little group of isolation Senators began to give out interviews and statements denouncing the movement and threatening all kinds of reprisals.

I am informed that neither the hammering of the Hearst press nor the threats of the anti-Court Senators surprised, shocked or disturbed Mr. Roosevelt, who had expected them. What did dissuade him was the strong representation made by Democratic leaders who were prepared to go along on this proposition. They told him that, though there were enough votes in the Senate to put the proposal over, the character of the fight would probably interfere with other legislation and prolong the session indefinitely. This argument succeeded in persuading Mr. Roosevelt to backtrack on his plan and there will be no action on the Court at this session.

It is, of course, possible that the Hearst influence had its effect upon the President, but one hates to think so and the disposition is to give him the benefit of the doubt. However, with the sort of majority and control the Democrats now have in the Senate, it seems to me a pretty poor kind of leadership which could not manage a fight such as this without getting tangled up. It speaks poorly for the parliamentary skill as well as the political force of such leaders to concede that a group of ten or twelve men out of ninety-six could upset the schedule and frustrate a clear two-thirds majority, though, of course, the Senate rules greatly aid a stubborn minority. It seems to me more of an alibi than an answer, but at any rate the Court stays on the shelf—again indefinitely postponed.

Interest is keen in the investigation by the special Senate Committee into the affairs of the great banking house of Morgan and Company. Last Week, the Senate, by resolution, widened the powers of the Committee so that not only is its authority to probe fully into the private banks now beyond question, but its general scope has been extended. It is the hope of many here in Washington that it will find time to go into the matter of withdrawals of large sums of gold by individuals, sums placed in hiding and, it is asserted, not yet returned.

For some months an interesting story has been in circulation to the effect that a prominent, wealthy and active Democrat of New York, at one time close to Mr. Roosevelt, was one of these. His alleged withdrawals are said to have amounted to several million dollars, a considerable portion of which, it is said, was deposited in the Bank of England, and was taken from the Federal Reserve Bank itself. The reason it has not been returned, I am informed, is because the withdrawals were not made during the recent bank crisis or in the period mentioned in the Treasury proclamation. On the contrary, this far-sighted gentleman got his gold more than a year and a half ago.

No such sum, of course, could have been withdrawn by an individual without the Treasury officials knowing the facts, and the Hoover administration did in fact know them. Mr. Hoover in one of his campaign speeches made some veiled reference to such an individual which only a few understood at the time. The facts, however, it is said, have been passed on to the Roosevelt administration by the Republican officials still remaining in the Treasury Department. This may account for what seems the greatly diminished standing which the aforesaid Democrat seems to have with the administration now. Up to date, he has been offered no public post commensurate with his dignity and importance. What is of immediate interest is whether the Senate Committee, with its extended powers, will bring this story out in the open.

Washington. T. R. B

Bailing out the Van Sweringens

The R.F.C. and Bugs Baer Finance—The Railroad Run-Around—Holding Companies—Eighty-four Vice-Presidents

AFTER having collected about $20 million in loans from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, the Missouri-Pacific Railroad has done what it should have done before the government bailed it out—gone into bankruptcy. A year ago this railroad owed the J. P. Morgan firm $10 million. The Morgans were the bankers for the road and the Van Sweringens. The Interstate Commerce Commission tried to persuade the Morgans to extend the loan. But they were adamant. So the R.F.C. loaned the Missouri-Pacific $9 million of the people's money. The railroad paid the Morgans. Now the road is in receivership. The Morgans have their money; but the government is holding the bag. Can anyone doubt that this banking firm knows what it is doing?

The Van Sweringens control this railroad. They control many others. And up to date the government has loaned nearly $50 million of the people's money to the Van Sweringen railroads to keep them out of bankruptcy. Here are the amounts:

Missouri-Pacific	$20,134,800
Nickel Plate	18,200,000
Erie Railroad	7,233,000
Pere Marquette	3,000,000
Total	$48,567,800

Quite a tidy sum! And it will be interesting to know how much of it will ever get back home. It looks as if the $20 million to the Missouri-Pacific were now definitely sunk.

This Missouri-Pacific has been borrowing from the R.F.C. as a steady customer. Of course, it was supposed to pay interest on its loans. Recently interest was due the R.F.C. and the Van Sweringens just called the R.F.C. up and asked if it would be so kind as to lend the interest. I do not know if that loan was made, but the R.F.C. report for February, just published, reveals that the road got a loan of $3,034,800 just about five weeks ago. At the moment the road was hopelessly bankrupt. It had obligations of over $40 million coming due by April 1 and no money at all to meet them. Yet it could get another farewell crack at the R.F.C. chest. When the history of the R.F.C. is finally written, the job should be turned over to Bugs Baer. He alone can do justice to it.

Why were all these millions loaned to these roads? To save savings banks and insurance companies? Or to save the Allegheny Corporation? This holding company is the

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chief engine by which the Van Sweringens control the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad, the Pere Marquette, the Nickel Plate, the Erie, the Missouri-Pacific, the Lehigh Coal Company and innumerable coal, realty, utility and other corporations. The collapse and bankruptcy of these roads would have meant wiping out the stock holdings of this holding company. This may be enough to bring salt tears to the eyes of those who love this way of doing business, but it is hardly a good reason for wringing $50 million from the pockets of the sorely pressed American people. The same amount loaned on housing projects for workmen would have built nearly 20,000 dwelling units and directly and indirectly put 60,000 men to work. And the loan would have been good as gold.

The Allegheny Corporation bought 547,000 shares of Missouri-Pacific common at $80.87 a share and 233,500 preferred shares at $136.05 a share. Are these Van Sweringens good shoppers? The present price of the common is $1.25 a share and the preferred $1.75 a share.

Of all these brilliant investments, the Chesapeake and Ohio and the Lehigh Coal Company alone are able to pay interest and dividends to the Allegheny Corporation. But that is hardly enough to enable that concern to meet its enormous interest requirements. For instance, the Allegheny must soon meet an interest obligation of $3,440,700. It collects from the Lehigh Coal Company and the C. & O. only $2,497,000. But fear not. It has other resources. For instance, you must remember that the Allegheny does not own the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad directly. It owns the Chesapeake and Ohio Corporation, which in turn owns most of the railroad stock. The Allegheny a year ago sold to its subordinate holding company an option to buy 215,000 shares of Erie stock and 167,300 shares of Nickel Plate stock. That stock has since collapsed in value. It is worth, altogether, only $1,451,000. But the Chesapeake and Ohio Corporation has set aside nearly $7 million to exercise these options. Why? Why this shifting of shares from one holding company to another at a price three times in excess of the market value? Will this deal be carried out?

This is just one swift glance at the holding-company system which has bedeviled our banks and our utilities and is at work in our railroads. There is no utility-holding-company system more complicated and more impenetrable than this Van Sweringen tangle. The Van Sweringens own three holding companies—the Vaness Company, the General Securities Corporation and the Geneva Corporation. These in turn control the Allegheny Corporation. It then controls many others and by these means brings under the Van Sweringen aegis five great railroad systems, along with a score of smaller roads, five or six utility companies, twenty-five or thirty coal companies and a brace of hotel companies, real-estate-development companies and other little odds and ends such as the United States Trucking Corporation. It is perhaps a safe guess that the Van Sweringens themselves could not tell you the concerns they own.

This suggests another facet of this crazy corporation wilderness in which we live. It is the indefensible system of multiple directorships found in all corporations, but chiefly in our big banks. The following story comes to me from a most reliable source. Before Albert Wiggin retired from the Chase National Bank a friend, who had counted eighty-four vice-presidents in that bank, asked Wiggin how many of them he knew. Wiggin replied: "Well, I may know half." The conversation continued:

Friend: All these vice-presidents have the power to lend money?

Wiggin: Yes, subject to some restrictions.

Friend: How many of these men would you recognize if you passed them on Park Avenue?

Wiggin: Oh, fifteen; possibly twenty.

Friend: You also have eighty-four directors. How many do you know so that you would recognize them as directors?

Wiggin: Well, perhaps half.

Friend: Of the eighty-four how many know what is going on in the Chase Bank?

Wiggin: Not many, I am afraid.

JOHN T. FLYNN.

Gabriel's Horn

ENOUGH of the pressing question of the theatre and its relation to our American life is present in "Gabriel over the White House" to draw discussion. There are the sociological, political and journalistic aspects to this film; but the discussion of them all must ultimately come round to the esthetic, since all the elements making up a work of art contribute toward the sum of it, which is an esthetic whole.

Not so long ago we had the "Washington Masquerade," with Mr. Lionel Barrymore as the honest Senator to be seduced into corruption and disgrace through a lady, the party leaders and the glamor of political chaos. The plot ends with his confession and a redemption-death motif. Mr. Barrymore provided some degree of technical skill and a generous if monotonous amount of emotion. The picture as a whole had a realism, probability, literal description, whatever you want to call it, that this new Washington film has not. It remained not quite foolish and in no sense important, as realism, political thought or anything else. The story of "Gabriel over the White House" Mr. Bliven has told elsewhere in this same issue of The New Republic. As for the knowledge of national affairs or any pretense of government or economic knowledge and so on in this film, Mr. Bliven has already given the *coup de grace* to that. Nevertheless, there seems to me in "Gabriel over the White House" a case of two points interesting to think over. I am aware that in noting these I run the risk of seeming to pile too much elaboration or serious discussion on what may not be significant enough to warrant it. This would not be the first time I have been accused of doing so. The answer is that as news or advisory information a review might easily run amuck thus; but as art criticism it does not come under the point, since, quite manifestly, any level of art may lead to principles or implications related to art's permanent nature. Microcosms as well as macrocosms may lead us on.

I pass on by, then, the naïve in this film, the sort of Hollywood-simple, as it were (but not too simple to be

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blind to a good popular chance). Certainly we find here an easy way indeed to solve matters, a dictator, with a new angel vision, dissolving Congress, melting the hearts of diplomats, bringing on the signature of peace-on-earth-good-will-to-men; if you think governments work like that you know very little about them. We understand this, just as we understand that the dying Jew of Malta could not have spoken those many lines of Marlowe eloquence out of the fiery pit they threw him into. But that hiatus in realism is only biological, where this saving-the-country matter is close and urgent in our minds at the moment. I make my two notes nevertheless.

First, this film may be seen as a kind of reversal of the familiar myth process. In "Gabriel over the White House," a story, of the present, retreats toward simplicity and unified pattern very much as, for an example, the Lincoln story, of the past, advances toward this simplicity and pattern. What's more—though with the obvious difference in elevation and richness—the motivation in this film is no more simplified—or if you will, innocent—than the Lincoln myth is. President Hammond puts his foot down, the Cabinet vanishes, gangsters and bootleggers are annihilated; he sees that we must be prepared to force peace on the world, the bombs drop, the gunboats explode, the diplomats are convinced. This is no more simple than the myth in which Lincoln from cradle to grave had an unfaltering purpose toward slavery, or took a stand throughout the war that was single, pure as the people's heart and unadulterated with political strategy.

The point here does not turn on Lincoln, whose greatness passes his myth, but on simplification. Nor is the simplification in "Gabriel over the White House" carried any further than it was in John Drinkwater's "Lincoln," which, where the film runs to the homely, ran to the monolithic. Where "Gabriel over the White House" is successful, the scene shown is a symbol in a pattern of symbols making up the myth. The scene in which the new President romps with the little boy, while on the radio, unheeded, comes the voice of Bronson, leader of the unemployed, addressing the country and his followers, is a good example of this, and so is the park scene where the President carries his word to the crowd, as their guide and servant. Where the film is not successful—as in the scene of the gangsters cornered by those armored cars that make you think of squat queens out of "Alice in Wonderland," or in the scene of the salty diplomats' horror and surprise and conversion—we have mere raw movieism. The symbol as a part of the myth is defeated then; what we see lacks all imagination, and contrives only to throw us back on the childish or absurd.

A second interest lies in the way by which (at the price of so much shuffling off of national and economic coils, etc., as summary as Homer's cause for the Trojan War) this film establishes its insinuating thesis: that any common man has a sense of what is right and what is wrong. Everybody knows, for instance, what ought to happen about bootleggers, corruption and so on. By reducing such infinitely complex material as that in "Gabriel over the White House" to such simplicity in theme and such adaptation to the method, you bring on the danger of an accusation of and invitation to ignorance and naïveté. I am not saying that "Gabriel over the White House" emerged triumphantly with this theme, but only that the theme has its place in the myth method and its defense. On the side of the film, however, I might perhaps mention a leading statesman in the World War's telling me once that in dealing with any situation that arose he always, *finally*, approached it as one would a village row, the passions, human nature, conflicts, et cetera, involved. The use of the Gabriel's music heard by the hero, and of the hero's death at the end of his victory, comes under this same discussion. The image of the heavenly voices is old and perfectly true to our experience; in the myth it is a well tried and working symbol. The death motif follows the theme, ingrained in man's consciousness and ancient in drama, of the mystical uses of sacrifice and atonement. We may say, also, that if the conclusion to "Gabriel over the White House," with all the peoples so sweetly set on peace and good will, seems happily optimistic, the esthetic point remains the same, which is that a rounding out is necessary to the myth or it cannot exist. But all this proves very little about its worth.

In the acting of the two main roles in this film something happens that is worth studying. Mr. Franchot Tone as the secretary gives a performance that one must watch closely to see how entirely acting elements—the timing, for instance, in the scene where the dismissal letters are delivered to the Cabinet—are substituted for the usual mere exhibitionism that we get in such roles, and how a complete stage responsiveness and judgment are substituted for sheer, raw personality. His playing, kept well within its right prose region, balances that of Mr. Walter Huston, whose role it is to be lifted and simplified as the story goes on. Mr. Huston has avoided both the effect of analysis, conscious complexity, and of the softness of the Great Heart pathos business. It is he that takes you away from what is often too obviously ingenuous in the situation presented and persuades you to response. He plays with a simple concentration in the method and a homely poetry in the feeling, and thus builds the leading figure where—in the film's mythology—it belongs; not on problems, social science, politics, but on a kind of folk basis of emotion and character.

Where this picture succeeds or where it fails, the reason is not necessarily because of its motivations or because it is summary, naïve or disingenuous. Creative force is what decides, power working within the picture.

This power to create the myth of it must come partially out of the life around. And thus we come back, through art, to the question of this film's relation to life. If "Gabriel over the White House" often holds your attention and is sometimes very moving—largely through its use of the medium, the acting especially—and yet ends by creating nothing of importance, we should be as simple toward Hollywood as this film is toward the world of nations, if we laid too much blame on the studios. What this film might have been, if the Hollywood, the nation supporting Hollywood, the soul and mind and public concern, the faith and ideas, the mutual pressure of life on art and art on life, had been different, what greatness the myth in "Gabriel over the White House" might have attained with another America around it, is another discussion. As it stands, it represents pretty well its public. Its excellence is the defect of its fault.

STARK YOUNG.

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Four Films: Art and Propaganda

FOUR RECENT films deserve comment for reasons of art or politics, or both. Two of these are negligible as art but important as propaganda, one possesses both qualities and one is a fine piece of work without any attempt to preach.

"Gabriel over the White House," made by Cosmopolitan and released by Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, is a half-hearted plea for Fascism, following loosely the story of the recent meretricious novel of the same name. An easy-going politician of the Harding type is elected President of the United States. In an automobile accident he gets a bad bump on the head, as a result of which he turns noble. Instead of shooting down an army of the unemployed which is marching on Washington, as his Cabinet planned, he houses them in government tents, walks alone into their midst and promises them a scheme for employment almost exactly like Mr. Roosevelt's "peace-time army." He solves the problem of the racketeer by getting rid of all but a few of these gentry, by methods not explained, and shooting the rest, after sending a fleet of army tanks against their fortress. When Congress, which is represented as being wholly bad, declines to support his drastic measures, he adjourns that body and declares martial law. He also dismisses his entire Cabinet, the members of which are represented as being unanimously venal. The silliest episode in the film is one which shows representatives of all our European debtors assembled on a yacht to discuss the war-debt question before a battery of microphones which carry their words to the entire world. The President is Sir Galahad, the diplomats are a pack of chimpanzees. When they announce they cannot pay their war debts, he first threatens them with cancellation of naval agreements and the building of the biggest navy in the world, and then explains that they can pay if they will only disarm (no mention of the transfer problem). Since this is a movie in which dreams come true, the next scene shows the world disarmament conference, with the President dropping dead after signing the treaty (with Lincoln's pen). It is hinted that his achievements have been inspired by the Angel Gabriel, hovering over the White House.

All this, it will be seen, is a very naïve piece of Hearstian wish-fulfilment. The men who made the movie are economically ignorant and politically ingenuous. Partly for these reasons and partly because of their technical skill, their work will undoubtedly be enormously popular; the audience cheers loudly both the promise of jobs for the unemployed and the threat of a big navy. It is as enthusiastic over the abandonment of democracy as it is over reverential mouthings about Lincoln. If this picture had appeared under different conditions—with, for example, Mr. Hoover reëlected and the depression suddenly much worse, it might even have had serious political consequences. Fortunately, however, Mr. Roosevelt's short way with Congress has served to canalize most of the pro-dictatorship sentiment.

"Rasputin and the Empress" (also Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer) is interesting only as an example of history butchered to make a movie holiday. This was apparently in part through a desire to give the three Barrymores fat roles, and in part through intentional Tsarist propaganda by the anti-Bolshevist Russians who have flocked to Hollywood. The result is a weird, unimportant film, in which the Tsar is not only a man of decided force of character, but most of the time is a strong liberal, intent on reform. There is hardly a hint that the Russians had any just grievance against his government, except one violent incident in which a group of people suspected of complicity in an assassination are shot down without trial, and for this the Tsar himself is absolved from responsibility. The date of the Duma is calmly advanced by eight years, and as usual in American films dealing with Russia, the Kerensky interlude is omitted in toto. One moment you see a serene and noble Tsar and Tsarina surrounded by an adorable family, troubled only by the writhing machinations of Rasputin, and the next, a gang of brutalized Bolshevists have dragged them off to be shot. This sort of historical perversion, in the films and elsewhere, is not new; and the only point worth noting about the present instance is that the artistic result hardly seems worth the assassination of fact.

The motion-picture version of "Cavalcade" (Fox Films) follows faithfully the story of Noel Coward's spectacular drama of England's last thirty years which ran so long in London. I happen to prefer the stage version, but not because the motion-picture producers did not do their best with it. It has been well cast, particularly in the choice of Diana Wynyard as the wife and mother who suffers through two wars, the production is technically brilliant if not very imaginative, and I got, as I did from the presentation in London, the sense of time's tragedy which Mr. Coward intended us to have. By showing us thirty years of history as reflected in the impact of world events upon one upper-class English family, he achieves the poignancy which only the small and familiar can create: there is always more pathos in a dead baby next door than in the starving of a million Chinese.

Mr. Coward's thesis is a familiar one, that the old days were good, the new ones bad and somehow England must return to her earlier dignity and virtue. Since he is himself generally deemed the perfect dramatist of the Jazz Age, one might suspect him of being ironic, but he is not; he is only naïve. That he has an amazing talent everyone knows; but this talent is not combined, either in "Cavalcade" or in any of his other plays which have been produced in America, with any very deep understanding of what the world is all about, why we are as we are, and why nostalgia is the most useless of emotions, even though dramatically effective when it rouses corresponding nostalgia in the spectator. To Mr. Coward, as to his heroine, a war is a visitation of God, and the terrible twenties represent, not the end of the laissez-faire era but an unsavory interlude. For this and other reasons, his work is best when his art is least intertwined with propaganda.

The only one of the four motion pictures which is important as art alone is "M," made two years ago in Germany by Nero Films. The "M" stands for murder and the film is a brilliant and delicate study of a pathological type, a man with an irresistible impulse to kill children, against a background of vigorous, melodramatic action. Although we are told that a number of these mur-

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ders have been committed, we see only one of them and it is narrated indirectly so that it need not shock the most fastidious. The police, aroused to frenzy by their inability to capture the murderer, throw a dragnet over the whole city. They do not find the man for whom they are looking, but they do manage to interfere with the regular occupations of the underworld—with thieves, prostitutes and beggars. The heads of these industries gather in conference and solemnly decide that, for the sake of their own welfare, they must catch the child murderer and put him out of the way. Their dragnet is far more successful than that of the police; they capture their victim and try him in a court of their own. Before they can carry out the sentence, however, the police break in and hale him off to be executed through the more formal processes of the law.

Not only is the film brilliantly directed, with a vast amount of that inspired type-casting at which the Germans are so good, but Peter Lorre acts the part of the insane murderer with great insight and inspired skill. The film is one which deserves to rank with the very best things in this field which have come out of Germany, with "Mädchen in Uniform," "The Last Laugh," "The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari" and "Variety." It is a picture which I do not believe could under any circumstances have been made in Hollywood—indeed, any American director who suggested such a thing would probably find his own sanity suspected. Nevertheless, Hollywood will make better pictures after seeing this one. And so we progress. B. B.

CORRESPONDENCE

Not Altruists

SIR: Because the printer misread my handwriting in my communication concerning "Human Nature in Russia" in your issue of March 29, I appear to characterize the vital section of the post-war generation in the Soviet Union as "altruists." They would properly resent this term. The word should have been "activists."

New York City. HARRY F. WARD.

Soaking the Electricity Consumer

SIR: In your issue of December 21 the featured article was by Morris Llewellyn Cooke, "Paying Too Much for Electricity." There are a number of statements in that article which, from a long experience with public-utility problems, both as a member of the staff of the New York State Public Service Commission and, since leaving the state service, in practice as a consulting accountant chiefly for utility companies, I believe to be without foundation. There is one statement in particular, however, the incorrectness of which no man living knows better than I. That statement is: "It is well known that the Uniform Classification of Accounts required of electrical companies by state public-service commissions originated with the National Electric Light Association."

That the Uniform Classification of Accounts for electrical utilities originated with the National Electric Light Association is not "well known" because it is not a fact. The assertion that it is the fact has often been made by persons who assume that usage which runs counter to their pet theories must have a selfish and sinister origin. The history of the approval of the Uniform Classifications of Accounts for electrical and gas utilities by the National Association of Railroad and Utilities Commissioners and the subsequent adoption of those classifications by a large majority of state regulatory commissions is readily available and the failure of Mr. Cooke to verify his allegation must cast serious doubt on the accuracy of many of his other statements.

The Uniform Classifications of Accounts now in most general use for electric and gas utilities were drafted after many months of hard study and discussion by the Committee on Statistics and Accounts of Public Utilities of the National Association of Railroad and Utilities Commissioners. As a member of that committee, and the chairman of the subcommittee which prepared the final draft submitted to the convention of the National Association in 1920, I can say, without the slightest reservation, that the ideas and principles contained in it represented the best thought, at the time, of the Commission accountants who made up the committee and who signed the report recommending the Classification to the National Association. It is true that the Commission accountants consulted with accounting committees of the American Gas Association and the National Electric Light Association and in many cases followed their suggestions. To have done otherwise would have been the height of stupidity. But I repudiate indignantly any implication that the members of the Commissioners' Committee, some of whom are still serving honorably the state commissions which they then represented, were so careless or foolish as to accept, without adequate criticism, any suggestion that a public-utility accountant wanted to offer.

New York City. H. C. HASBROUCK.

SIR: Since the publication of my article on retail rates the National Electric Light Association has become *in articulo mortis* and men of good will would naturally prefer to remain silent during the final obsequies. As a close observer of N.E.L.A. techniques during the last twenty years it never occurred to me that in saying the present Uniform Classification of Accounts "originated with the N.E.L.A." any formal proceedings or ceremony were implied. When yet a lad I observed that the weasel does not sing when he sucks an egg. In view of the price which this Uniform Classification of Accounts has cost the American people, and the present-day informed attitudes toward it, no one desiring to claim parentage need be challenged. This classification will not be long with us.

Times have changed. We do not look at utility matters quite so complacently as formerly. Even the acts of the National Association of Railroad and Utilities Commissioners are no longer accepted as necessarily *pro bono publico*. Not many months back a group of members including Kronshage, Maltbie and Seavey, chairmen respectively of the Wisconsin, New York and California Commissions, charged that "regulation in the several states is being seriously imperiled by the present conduct of the affairs of the National Association of Railroad and Utilities Commissioners." This Association actively opposed before the Congress the investigation of the electrical industry now being conducted by the Federal Trade Commission. It still lends its support to the control of utility law reports by the industries at interest.

Philadelphia, Pa. MORRIS LLEWELLYN COOKE.

The Social Credit Plan

SIR: Your correspondent, Mr. C. V. Kerslake, ingenuously inquires, "Now, what is wrong with the social-credit plan of Major Douglas . . . ?" It is certainly "not fair to throw it in with other schemes of credit expansion"—*i. e.*, not fair on the other schemes, for as Mr. J. M. Keynes is said to have remarked, the Major's ideas are "so hopelessly confused as not to deserve or require serious comment." His case rests upon an absurd dichotomy of price into "internal" and "external" costs, and on an assumption that the normal effect upon the cost of living of increased credit for productive purposes is similar to that experienced under the quite different conditions of the recent War. Major Douglas began by comparing consumers' income not with the goods and services consumers buy, but with "aggregate prices," that is with the *gross* instead of with the net product of industry. He naturally discovered "a deficiency" which, he conceived, signified

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"an increasing shortage of purchasing power"—unless it could be met by an "increasing issue of money for capital production," and this inevitably caused "inflation of prices"! So he proposed that equivalent sums (or more) should be given to consumers—not as loans, but as "dividends," individual prices being regulated by the ratio of "consumption" to productive capacity!

Mr. Kerslake imagines that any nation adopting this precious scheme "would soon be in a position to see what classes of goods were being produced in too great abundance." But productive power is not the same thing as available stocks, and the only goods to be produced "in too great abundance" by such a "price-regulating feature" would be found (too late) to be those which no one required.

London, Eng. GEOFFREY BIDDULPH.

A Conference against War

SIR: The Executive Committee of the War Resisters' League believes that the hour has come openly to answer the militarists in America. The advocates of war as an instrument of national policy and the agents of armament and munition makers are doing their utmost, both in Washington and Geneva, to increase the navy, expand the army and promote the program of the Airplane and Chemical Warfare Service.

We mean to answer this challenge and to assemble in Washington, Saturday, April 22 to:

(1) Organize a parade of War Resisters to march up Pennsylvania Avenue from the Capitol to the White House;
(2) Meet in conference to discuss the strategy of war resistance in time of peace;
(3) Summon the people to a mass meeting to be addressed by the most distinguished leaders of war resistance in America;
(4) Serve notice upon the government that there is a growing group of men and women who believe that wars will cease only when men refuse to fight and who are determined to have no part whatever in war or preparation therefor.

You can aid us in four simple ways in making this demonstration of War Resisters effective in the Capital of the nation: If you are not a member, enroll as an active member of the War Resisters' League; organize a delegation, few or many, to join us in Washington; send us a contribution, small or large, for the special fund we need to cover the cost of this necessary and dramatic project.

Please send to Devere Allen, 40 West Sixty-eighth Street, at the earliest possible moment your answer and offer of coöperation. War makers are at work day and night. War resisters cannot afford to lose one hour in advancing the cause of those who not only believe in peace, but are utterly opposed to war without reservation, compromise or condition.

JESSIE WALLACE HUGHAN,
JOHN HAYNES HOLMES,
SIDNEY E. GOLDSTEIN,
DEVERE ALLEN.

New York City.

A Russian Seminar This Summer

SIR: Plans for the First Russian Seminar will undoubtedly interest your readers. Organized as an educational venture on a strictly non-profit basis, the Seminar will visit Russia this coming summer under the leadership of several of America's best equipped scholars. The group is now being organized by the Bureau of University Travel of Newton, Massachusetts, which has prepared a complete announcement. The Seminar investigation will include both city and rural life, extending from Leningrad in the north to the Black Sea, the Russian Riviera, and the Caucasus in the south. The itinerary includes almost all of European Russia, one of the unusual features being a four days' cruise down the Volga River. Newly developed industrial cities along the Volga and the Don will be visited as well as the farm projects of the Ukraine. There will also be a trip by river steamer up the Dnieper from Dnieprostroy to Kiev.

Among the members of the Advisory Committee for the analysis are Stuart Chase, Henry W. L. Dana, Whiting Williams, Tredwell Smith, Grove Patterson and Professors Samuel N. Harper, G. T. Robinson, D. C. Poole, Walter W. Hyde and Frank Novak.

Following the Russian study, the group will go to the Near East observing conditions in Rumania, Bulgaria, and later visiting Turkey, Greece and Italy. The party expects to be gone from the United States during July and August.

Newton, Mass. WM. M. BARBER.

Extracts from Letters

MR. CARL ALBERT writes on behalf of the Office Workers' Union, 80 East Eleventh Street, New York City, which is now engaged in "laying the base for a national union of white-collar workers. Branches have been established in Philadelphia, New Haven and Washington, D. C., and we are attemptin, to form groups in Boston, Bridgeport, Newark, Hartford, Chicago and Detroit." . . . The *Provisional Committee for Protest against German Fascist Atrocities*, 551 Fifth Avenue, New York, reports on plans for protesting against the "Fascist reign of terror." Among the members of the committee are James T. Shotwell, Alvin Johnson, Emily Balch, John Dewey, Robert Morss Lovett, George W. Kirchwey, John Haynes Holmes, Reinhold Niebuhr, Roger Baldwin and Lincoln Steffens. . . . William Simons, national secretary of the Anti-Imperialist League of the United States, 799 Broadway, New York City, writes to say that "the Chicago World's Fair is the glorification of capitalist imperialism. To the naked eye, it presents the triumph of achievement, but to the discerning eye it masks untold oppression and exploitation of the working masses of the world." The League is planning "an exhibit to run in Chicago concurrently with the Fair, which will show the truth behind the false exterior." . . . Walter Parker, of New Orleans, thinks Mr. Abraham Epstein's article, "I Cannot Complain About Taxes," in The New Republic of March 15 is misleading because, he says, "property taxes in many cases now are greater than income from property. . . . Mr. Epstein has overlooked a general tax burden which the people can no longer carry." . . . G. W. Van Fleet, of Chicago, suggests that "all banks should be mutualized and put under a strict national supervision. The Federal Reserve Act should be changed to provide that no bank can own any of its capital. All of said capital should be owned by the federal government, the capital of the Federal Reserve Bank in each district being sufficient to serve properly the banks in its territory." . . . Alice Coe Mendham writes from Lincoln, Nebraska, to tell us of the arrest of five farmers and eleven unemployed workers at Wilber. They came to the courthouse to protest a foreclosure sale which had been ordered, although a stay had been asked under the new moratorium law. "Deputies started a riot with fists and tear gas, the farmers and unemployed workers were arested, tried and convicted of contempt of the District Court which ordered the sale. The case is being appealed to the supreme court of the state." . . . Henry R. Linville, president of the Teachers' Union, New York City, writes to comment on the recent disclosures about Mr. Charles E. Mitchell of the National City Bank. He recalls the fact that it was Mr. Mitchell who, on behalf of the bankers, insisted that the pay of teachers and other city employees should be cut before they would lend the city any more money. . . . Miss Josephine Roche sends us from Denver the annual report of the Rocky Mountain Fuel Company, of which she is president. This company is one which, contrary to the custom of Colorado coal companies, gives full recognition to the coal miners' union and in general accords its workers superior treatment. The company made substantial income gains in 1932 over 1931. After meeting all expenses, it was able to apply to book reserve charges 500 percent of the amount available in 1931. The company's mines worked 191 days in 1932 as compared with 126 days worked by all other mines in the state. It paid the highest wages of any coal mine in that state. The production per miner was not quite one-third larger than in the mines of the state as a whole. . . . Dr. John Dewey writes as chairman of the National Advisory Council of the Association of Unemployed College Alumni, 112 East Nineteenth Street, New York City, to invite unemployed college graduates to join the Association. The invitation is also extended to members of this year's graduating class, so many of whom will be unable to obtain employment.

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The Adventure of Persuasion

Adventures of Ideas, by Alfred North Whitehead. New York: The Macmillan Company. 397 pages. $3.50.

"PROCESS AND REALITY," the book that grew out of Mr. Whitehead's Gifford Lectures, was a hard nut to crack for those readers who had been attracted to him by his "Science in the Modern World." It was anything but easy reading even for professional philosophers. But his present volume combines the human sweep of the former with the comprehensive generality of the latter book. Cultivated persons with no specialized philosophical knowledge or interest will find a genuine intellectual adventure in following Mr. Whitehead's account of the march of a few great ideas in human history. This statement applies particularly to the first of the four sections which compose the book—their titles being "Sociological," "Cosmological," "Philosophical" and "Civilization." On the other hand, philosophical experts who were more or less baffled by the intricacies of thought and novelties of terminology that abounded in "Process and Reality" will find their understanding of Mr. Whitehead's underlying metaphysics much aided by the broad simplifications of the present volume. One gains the impression that he now has a longer perspective in which to see ideas that were very close to him, because still in process of formation, when he gave the Gifford Lectures.

Mr. Whitehead is preëminent among living thinkers for his extraordinary sensitiveness to the movement of things. Indeed, he is distinguished among philosophers of all periods in this same respect. The delicacy, the "tenderness" (to use one of his own words) of his sensitivity is indicated only in the rough by the general fact that his philosophy is one of the universe in process, "creative advance." Other thinkers have had the same conception—notably, in our own day, Bergson. But while the latter sums up the matter in two leading ideas that are exemplified in a multitude of forms and ways, Mr. Whitehead brings out shade after shade of subtle distinction. He makes much of "intuition." This to my mind is a dangerous term; at least none has been more abused. But as I interpret Mr. Whitehead's use of it, it signifies a deep sensitivity to some aspect or temper of the experienced world, especially to one which is emerging and which characterizes an epoch. The emphasis that he places upon feeling, his condemnation of all philosophies that separate intellect from responsive interests, his recognition, so rare among philosophers, of the inadequacy of language to convey thoughts, and above all his sense of the multiplicity (the welter, as he calls it) of characteristics found in every object and institution, all testify alike to the fact that in spite of the unusually technical garb of his thought, it is rooted in a sensitivity of experience to the movement of things.

I would emphasize that it is *movement* to which he responds most directly and easily; it is this which sets his problems, especially his basic problem: namely, the question of how eternal objects can be influentially embodied in the processes of change that constitute the actuality of the universe. Now rationalistic philosophers, the school with which Mr. Whitehead prefers to identify himself (so far as he is "patient" of classification), have generally been open only to the *content* of things, as this content is translatable into ideas. Mr. Whitehead came to philosophy mainly through the medium of mathematics. There is a current notion, perhaps fallacious and due to the Cartesian and Lockeian identification of mathematics with clear and distinct ideas, with ideas wholly explicit and aboveboard, that a mathematician is sensitive *only* to the content of ideas. In more ways than one, Mr. Whitehead's problem is to harmonize the content of things with their *movement*. Perhaps the very thoroughness of his acquaintance with the static and eternal character of mathematical conceptions has made him the more aware of the discrepancy existing between them and the flux of existent things, while the function of mathematics in the science of these changing things has precipitated itself in a consciousness of what seems to be his basic metaphysical problem.

These conditions surely account for his devotion to Plato and for the points of contact between his own views and those of Plato. It goes to show that Plato's attempt to unite a mathematical and religious interpretation of the universe is not the merely "mystical" thing it is often taken to be. At all events, such statements as are found in the two following quotations are characteristic of Mr. Whitehead's own combination of the two. "I hazard the prophecy that that religion will conquer which can render clear to popular understanding some eternal greatness incarnate in the passage of temporal fact." And, "there is a freedom beyond circumstance, derived from the direct intuition that life can be grounded upon its absorption in what is changeless amid change."

The second part, the cosmological, of Mr. Whitehead's treatment sums up his interpretation of the "immanent" character of law in opposition to its imposed character. For, in his mind, this doctrine culminates in speculative or systematic theology. Realization of the true philosophy of the case would culminate in "the New Reformation." The "institutional and dogmatic forms" of Protestant Christianity are in steady decay. Nevertheless, the attack of "liberals" upon systematic theology, while justified as far as the dogmatism of the latter is concerned, is entirely misconceived, for in principle it is an attack upon reason, upon systematic thought itself. The religious reformation, to be of fortunate issue, must primarily base itself upon "moral and metaphysical intuitions" scattered throughout the germinal epoch lying between the Hebrew prophets and Plato and the stabilization of Western theology by St. Augustine. The elements that Mr. Whitehead believes the new reformation must recover and develop are, first of all, the fact brought out by Plato, that "the divine element in the world is to be conceived as a persuasive agency and not as a coercive agency"; second, the exemplification of this principle by Christ in act; and third, the formulations of the Greek school of theologians in Alexandria and Antioch, since they "demanded a direct doctrine of immanence," thus pointing out the only way in which the Platonic idea of the persuasive agency of God could consistently develop. I doubt if the Protestant theologians to whom Mr. Whitehead appeals will grasp the revolutionary implication of his statement that "the leaders of religious thought should today concentrate upon the Christian tradition and more particularly upon its historical origins." They are used to depending upon the past as authority. Perhaps he shares the doubt. For at the end he asks: "Must 'religion' always remain as a synonym for 'hatred'?"

I have selected this particular chapter for special reference partly because of Whitehead's identification of the cosmological with (ultimately) the theological, but more because it brings the idea of "persuasion" to the front. It would not be true that this is the most important concept of Mr. Whitehead's thought. On the contrary, more than most thinkers he has a number of concepts of coördinate importance in that each is necessary to an understanding

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of the system. But it is, I think, the centralizing idea in the four main topics discussed in the volume. The mutual relations of coercion and persuasion in Western history are the chief theme of the sociological section, which traces the means by which the idea of persuasion, formulated by Plato in connection with the general character of "soul" and freedom, finally found its way, in conflict against ideas of slavery and coercion of circumstances, into power in Western civilization. That it is the culminating idea of the second portion I have already noted. Its significance is less marked in the section labeled "Philosophical," but this portion in reality deals with a number of special problems largely explanatory of the author's "Process and Reality." It is implicit in the final section on Civilization, which differs basically from the sociological section in that it considers "truth, beauty, adventure and peace" as characters which measure civilization.

The exact meaning of "persuasion" is to be gained by feeling that has become intuition rather than by formal definition. It names the career and growing victory of ideas in the world of actuality that is dominantly a world of coercions. "Ideas" in his sense exist prior to human consciousness; they denote the general as governing the particular, and possibility as transcending actuality. "The Adventure of Ideas" is thus in some sense the process by which "the world of civilized order is created, the victory of persuasion over force." Mr. Whitehead's book is thus both a philosophy of human history and an exposition of the principles that, in his view, metaphysically underlie and constitute this history.

For reasons which obviously cannot be gone into here, I cannot align myself with the general school to which Mr. Whitehead professes that he belongs—which indeed, according to him, is alone worthy of the name of philosophy, Rationalism. This latter doctrine has, however, become conventionalized and academic. It is hardly too much to say that Mr. Whitehead has given it a radically fresh interpretation, one that must command the attention of all those outside the rationalistic school who had become wearied with the complacent repetition of outworn stalenesses characteristic of most who call themselves rationalists. I even doubt whether, when Mr. Whitehead's ideas have become developed and digested, they can be linked with historic rationalism in any but a Pickwickian sense. Of one thing I am sure. He has exemplified his own interpretation of the meaning of the Platonic transcendence of ideas. He has originated intuitions which will initiate new adventures: at first, adventures of thought, and then of action. For his ideas are not the concepts of historic rationalism, but are modes of valuing.

I am unwilling to close without quoting a number of aphoristic sentences selected at random. "The progress of religion is defined by the denunciation of gods." "Human life is driven forward by its dim apprehension of notions too general for its existing language." "Wherever there is a creed, there is a heretic round the corner or in his grave." "The literary exposition of freedom deals mainly with the frills." "State systems are transient expedients upon the surface of civilization." "Life is an offensive, directed against the repetitious mechanism of the Universe." "The nearest analogues to the Alexandrian theological debates are the modern debates among mathematical physicists on the nature of the atom"—not said in derogation of either. "Aristotle dissected fishes with Plato's thoughts in his head"—an illustration of the relation of much scientific research to prior philosophical speculation.

JOHN DEWEY.

The Seasoning of 'Old Hickory'

Andrew Jackson: The Border Captain, by Marquis James. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company. 461 pages. $3.75.

WHATEVER other claims Mr. Marquis James may have upon our attention, and they are various, we must immediately recognize his eminence as the most painstaking of our native biographers. If his life of Sam Houston left any doubt of his right to that distinction, this biography of Andrew Jackson must surely dispel it. The amount of labor that went into the writing of this book was truly enormous. Mr. James, like one of Mr. Bob Gant's sincere and earnest bloodhounds, followed the trail of his hero wherever it led. He examined thousands of manuscripts, read hundreds of volumes, dug up many interesting photographs, visited libraries throughout the country. And then, having collected all his material, he wrote his facts into a thick, solid book which, for sheer scholarship, will cause every honest practitioner of the biographer's art to take off his hat in genuine admiration and respect.

It does not matter if Mr. James seems to have fallen in love with scholarship for scholarship's sake; if, in his zealous search after absolute authentication he gives references, not only for facts and quotations, but for random phrases and sentences as well; if, because of this, scholarship occasionally appears to be not only unnecessary but trivial as well. The thing that matters is that despite Mr. James's industry, despite the fifty pages of notes, the six-page bibliography and the eight pages of personal acknowledgments, the figure that emerges is the same old Andrew Jackson who first captivated our imaginations in the fifth grade—Old Hickory himself, the Brave Boy of the Waxhaws, the Hero of New Orleans. We had a right, after Sam Houston, to expect more than that.

An explanation for the partial failure of "The Border Captain" is to be found in Mr. James's biographical method. It is scientific rather than literary. Where much new material is to be found, intrinsically valuable for the light it casts upon the subject, the scientific method is highly successful—its very objectivity giving it, paradoxically, a high degree of literary excellence. Where little or nothing remains to be found, however, it may be equally unsuccessful—frequently leading to an attempt, in the absence of more considerable discoveries, to fasten upon mere detail more importance than it deserves. If the book is disappointing, therefore, it is because there is too much emphasis placed upon research and too little upon interpretation. Mr. James tried to duplicate his performance in writing about Sam Houston and this time it does not come off.

The book takes Jackson up to the year 1821 when, after a brief term as Governor of the newly acquired province of Florida, he returned to Tennessee. Mr. James, I am told, is now at work on a second volume which is to carry Jackson through the years of his presidency. This is worth knowing and something should have been said about it in the present volume, which dismisses him just when his real career is about to begin. Jackson's pioneer life was interesting and exciting, it makes a good yarn, but it can hardly be called significant—except for the impress it left upon his character, making him able to personify a "native" American to a newly arisen, rebellious generation which demanded a clean break from the Old World culture represented by the earlier patriots. His two principal accomplishments before 1821 were to defeat the Creeks and the Seminoles and to rout the British at New Orleans. But the services of other

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men against the Indians (John Sevier, for example) were equally distinguished, and the Battle of New Orleans had no effect except to add to Jackson's military reputation—the battle being fought after the treaty of peace was signed.

But if Jackson the border captain is relatively unimportant, Jackson the seventh President of the United States is a towering figure in our history. It was he who, among various other things, instituted the political system which Mr. William Gibbs McAdoo was thinking about when he said recently, "The Republicans have milked the cow long enough. Now it's our turn." It was also he who, demanding the return of $35 million in government funds deposited in eighty different banks, exposed a financial system almost as putrid as our own and helped to bring about the depression of 1836—which lasted, by the way, for seven years, even though the ever-trustful populace got a new deal under Van Buren. It was again he who crushed excessive state rights and quelled the "tariff rebellion" of South Carolina in 1832—actions which had an important bearing on the Civil War. Few men played a more important part in the making of America.

We shall look forward to Mr. James's story of him.

HAMILTON BASSO.

Reynard Foxed

Upton Sinclair Presents William Fox. Los Angeles: Upton Sinclair. 394 pages. $3.

IN ITS essential plan, this book is William Fox talking to the American public about his own life through the expert journalistic medium of Upton Sinclair, and Upton Sinclair talking to the American public about the outrageousness of its own financial system through the life history of William Fox. In order that all persons who wish to start libel suits may know just where to direct their attacks, Mr. Sinclair shifts the responsibility for all statements of fact upon Mr. Fox, except where he is personally able to check up on the basis of actual documents.

"The Fox," as he is characteristically designated in this volume, traces his career sketchily from his birth in Hungary through his early years on the East Side of New York, through his early business ventures up to his modest entrance into the motion-picture business. He shows himself ambitious, determined and ready to undergo severe personal sacrifice in order to accumulate the funds necessary to launch himself on an independent career, and lift himself above the social status of his immediate family. These early ventures are characterized by trickery and dishonesty, which, so far as one can detect, he recounts without the slightest sense of shame, such as the occasion where he salvaged his first ambitious venture on the occasion of a parade for Admiral Dewey by announcing that there was a souvenir of the hero inside each of the pretzels that he was selling. There was no such souvenir, but by the time the buyer discovered it the Fox and his group of marching salesmen were out of reach.

It is obviously impossible to enter into any detail regarding the technical and financial processes whereby the Fox built up his enormous business. The sidelights which the story throws on contemporary American life are innumerable. What a commentary, for instance, it is upon the social attitude toward art and recreation in this country that almost all the scenarios for the first few years were derived by Mrs. Fox from books that she was able to read, told by her to Mr. Fox, and the next day dictated by him to a stenographer!

The story in its major outlines is not greatly different from that of other sudden American fortunes. It reveals the familiar linkage of business and finance, the characteristic lust for power dominating long after all possible desires for personal enjoyment of wealth had been provided for, and the devious and complicated methods by which money can be extracted from the general public to build up a vast enterprise which has something desirable to offer. As to any comparison between the morals or business ethics of the Fox and of his persecutors, it is difficult to pass judgment. To the inexpert layman Fox's methods seem to be just about the same as those of the rest of the gang. To be sure, Fox proclaims a higher degree of altruism, a central interest in serving the public, an eagerness to protect the interests of his stockholders, that are not displayed by the other characters in the story. He is almost certainly not a mere looter, as are some of our exponents of high finance. He clearly has business standards of his own, however difficult they may be for anyone else to comprehend. His terror of having a note go to protest is really pathetic. But we cannot forget that in this particular story we are hearing only the Fox's side and, while Mr. Sinclair obviously believes he was in the right in many of his controversies, it would not be fair to judge the other participants too severely as individuals.

As to the system itself, of which all these individuals are merely representatives, it would be difficult to speak too harshly. This is where the major interest of Mr. Sinclair is focused. The sordidness, the cynicism, the ruthlessness, the rapacity, the sheer dishonesty, which characterize the operations of our high financial wizards would be incredible if they were revealed here for the first time. But this book has appeared at just the proper time. If this story had not been synchronized with sickening revelations about the methods of some of our greatest banks, many people would have dismissed it as "just some more of Upton Sinclair's exaggeration." But now we are quite prepared to believe that the experience of William Fox is thoroughly typical, that the prostitution of art, recreation and individual well-being to corporate greed is the accepted order of the day, and that the deliberate looting of great enterprises for the enrichment of the insiders is a regular feature of our economic system. It is quite natural, and thoroughly justifiable, that Mr. Sinclair should seize this opportunity to point a moral, and to drive home his arguments for a socialized form of economic organization.

One very interesting feature of the book is the way in which almost every great name in American life, in whatever field of activity, gets drawn into a story of this kind. Vibrating through these pages we find Herbert Hoover, Charles Evans Hughes, Henry Ford, Rosika Schwimmer, Charles M. Schwab, Samuel Untermyer, Dean Madden of the New York University School of Commerce, Bernard M. Baruch, not to mention a long list of lawyers and judges and persons more immediately connected with financial operations. The tentacles of what Mr. Sinclair calls the "Octopus" are extensive and all-embracing.

Seldom is a book so much like a newspaper in the immediacy of its material. As Mr. Sinclair points out, the author had difficulty in bringing it to a close because things kept happening. The last two chapters, or "reels," are "Summing Up" and "Aftermath," and these are followed by an "Epilogue." Even so, the final outcome, which would serve as the climax of an ordinary novel, depends on the still unsettled litigation over the famous "Tri-Ergon patents," out of which Mr. Fox hopes not only to recoup his vast fortune but also to wreak vengeance upon his persecutors,

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many of whom have already suffered poetic justice at the hands of Fate. It is an exciting and engrossing story, more readable than many a fictional thriller, and one which must inevitably have a deep influence upon the social and economic developments of the immediate future.

HENRY PRATT FAIRCHILD.

The Roof over Our Heads

Housing America, by the Editors of Fortune. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 159 pages. $2.

THE PATH of the housing reformer is indeed a troublesome one Some of his difficulties, however, arise in quarters which he least suspects. The confusion in his own bosom is one of them. Although he never fails to mention that the principal justification for housing legislation lies in the close connection among housing, health and crime, the facts that he cites in support of his faith are not beyond question. Despite all the books on housing, it is not possible to demonstrate, statistically at least, any such interdependence.

When the housing enthusiast gets down to fundamentals he finds that he is challenging a system of production. What he is after is a different set of rules of the game. The groups that are responsible for the plight of real estate today are the same forces that have supplied the poor housing that we have been getting. If many respectable names have fallen from their towers of eminence it is because of the self-defeating character of the speculative method of operation.

The speculative trinity of land developer, builder and lender has had a relatively free hand. First comes the land speculator, who buys large tracts of vacant land and subdivides them into small lots. The history of our cities is largely the story of his reckless and anarchic process of cutting up land and his absolute right of placing on it almost any kind of structure that his taste or his calculus of profits dictates. He is the one who urges municipalities to embark upon costly programs of financing rapid transit. It is also he who pockets the land increment.

Then comes the builder, usually operating with little money of his own. A building loan and mortgage are his financial fuel. He builds to "get from under" as quickly as possible. He pays high rates of interest, gives bonuses to respectable financial institutions, adds a host of other charges and unloads his product on the $50-a-week man. He preaches the gospel of "own your own home," with its blessings to citizenship. The product which is turned out is shoddy, and consequently costs of operation are so high that foreclosure must follow. Some well intentioned persons are beginning to realize that under our unstable money economy, it is a dangerous doctrine to preach home ownership to wage earners.

The last of the trinity is the lender. The savings bank or insurance company grants loans for a period of three to five years on what is presumably no more than 60 percent of the cost of the project. During periods of prosperity the appraisals of the valuation experts are rather liberal, and together with the padded estimates of the builder, lead to loans that are actually more than the legal limit. Renewal fees are a convenient source of income for these institutions. There is little financial incentive to check the "standards" of construction other than that the building should not defy the engineering laws of stress and strain. A higher land coverage means higher income. Without the first mortgagee's half-brother, the second mortgagee, whose charges run anywhere from 9 to 15 percent, the building industry could not operate.

Some of the shortcomings of the industry are presented in "Housing America." The book opens with a graphic picture of how inadequately housed are most American families. Then follows an analysis of the practices that make our dwellings so costly. The pyramiding of speculative profits in converting acreage into improved property, the disorganized financial markets, the obstructing tactics of labor organizations and the shortsighted fiscal policies of municipalities are the factors that are emphasized. The weakness of the volume lies in the editors' refusal to come to grips with the necessity for the extension of governmental control. To some students of the problem the road of housing progress lies in the direction of creating federal, state and municipal agencies which will be independent of the influence of financial institutions, and will be guided by criteria of planning, stability of values, low rentals, recreational facilities, etc. Discussion of these questions is not to be found in this volume. Instead the editors take refuge in describing the "House of the Future."

ASHER ACHINSTEIN.

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Book Notes

ARCHITECTURE

THE HOMES OF THE PILGRIM FATHERS IN ENGLAND AND AMERICA (1620-1685), by Martin S. Briggs. *New York: Oxford University Press. 227 pages, illustrated. $4.75.*

Mr. Martin Briggs, who has won distinction for himself by his scholarly books on the development of the architect and the building crafts, has produced a work of equal originality and penetration on the homes of the New England colonists in America. By

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a thorough study of the remains of sixteenth and seventeenth-century architecture both in England and in the parts of Holland where the Pilgrims dwelt, he is able to show that the characteristic modes of New England building followed the patterns of their prototypes in Europe, alike in elevation, in general proportion, in construction and even in the use of wooden clapboards. The demonstration is so complete and thorough that no one need trouble himself with this part of the field again; and the book itself, in its illustrations and its typography, is as handsome an example of the printer's craft as the houses it illustrates are of the carpenter's.

Biography

OLIVER'S SECRETARY, by Dora Neill Raymond. *New York: Minton, Balch and Company. 355 pages. $3.50.*

Milton's preëminence as poet has naturally tended to obscure his political activities, first as a free-lance pamphleteer and later as secretary for foreign tongues to the Council of State, in which capacity he not only drafted diplomatic correspondence, but also engaged in public controversy as defender of the republic. Mrs. Raymond gives a comprehensive account of Milton's career in this "work of his left hand" during the eighteen years following his return from Italy, when his muse was all but silent. By reference to contemporary polemics she shows Milton in all the dust and heat of journalistic battle. It was in consequence of his eloquent defense of regicide in "The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates" that he became secretary to the Council. It has been the fashion to depreciate Milton's position to that of a mere clerk, useful for his excellent Latin style. On the contrary, after his triumphant rebuttal of Salmasius in his "Defensio pro Popolo Anglicano" he enjoyed a European reputation, and when foreign envoys were entertained by the Council, Milton by virtue of his European fame was regarded as host at the diplomatic board, and was sought out in his home by visitors from the civilized world. His distinction as an international figure saved him from the vengeance of the Restoration, and prepared the way for the reception of "Paradise Lost," born out of due time into a world which had forsaken the political ideals implicit in the epic.

Poetry

THE COLLECTED POEMS OF HART CRANE, edited with an introduction by Waldo Frank. *New York: Liveright, Inc. 213 pages. $2.50.*

To read these "Collected Poems" confirms the impression that Hart Crane was the most considerable poet of his generation, as well as the most turbulent and unhappy. He published only two books during his lifetime, "White Buildings" (1926) and "The Bridge" (1930), but before his death he had completed a third, which he planned to call "Key West: An Island Sheaf." He also left behind him a dozen poems in manuscript, probably meaning to revise them before publication: they form a fourth section of the present volume. Most of these posthumous pieces seem fragmentary, but the longest of them, "Eternity," is an extraordinarily fine poem which shows Crane in a new role, that of a reporter with a sharp, quick, cinematic style. A dozen early poems are printed in an appendix, together with an essay on "Modern Poetry" which proves that the poet wrote good prose—something his private letters would prove more abundantly. The Introduction by Waldo Frank is a longer and more satisfying version of an essay which appeared in The New Republic.

Fiction

BARRICADES IN BERLIN, by Klaus Neukrantz. *New York: International Publishers. $1.50.*

This is an excellent account of the street fighting that went on in the Wedding section of Berlin on and after the May Day of 1929. That year the usual May Day demonstration was forbidden by the police, and the Communists, disregarding the order, attempted to march. To this disobedience the police responded with frenzied and sadistic violence. Large bodies of marchers were trapped in blind streets and men and women were mercilessly slugged. The eventual erection of barricades by the workers brought out from the police all the paraphernalia, vocabulary and psychology of war. Thirty-three Communists were killed, many

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more were seriously injured, and for many days even disinterested citizens were not safe on the streets from the attacks of the hysterical gendarmerie. The fighting scenes in the book are excellently rendered and the "plot"—the activities of the worker, Kurt, and his wife's conversion to Communism—though rather casual and utterly disproportionate to the event, serves to integrate the story.

GATHERING STORM, by Dorothy Myra Page. *New York: International Publishers. $2.*

This is a political and agitational novel, particularly illustrating the Negro problem, and possessing the common defects and values of its type. The story has to do with the development of Marge Crenshaw and her brother into militant and class-conscious workers, showing the progressive loss of their prejudices under the pressure of conflict. For a brief work, an enormous territory is explored: the War years, strikes and lynchings, the intense acceleration of events. Too much, in fact, seems to be attempted, as the author sacrifices specific detail for broad and generalized observations. The best passages are those dealing with the particularly brutal and open exploitation of the textile workers, the few bits of straight narrative and the direct record of actual happenings in the Gastonia strikes.

HINDU HEAVEN, by Max Wylie. *New York: Farrar and Rinehart. $2.*

This novel, by a man who spent two years in India as professor in a mission college, is a blunt, corrosive indictment of missionary propaganda. Life in the college is a futile farce; the faculty is either obtuse, like Dr. James, the principal, and the unspeakable Papp, or ineffectual, like Sylvia. The student body is composed of flabby, whining converts. To complete the picture, academic scenes are interspersed with sequences of Hindu life in village and in town, seen through the eyes of Bruno Hall, Mr. Wylie's alter ego. The loneliness of the white exile, it would seem, is soothed by much tennis playing, a sop to boredom. As foils to the weak converts stand Hall's paramour, the emancipated Hindu girl Shonti, and Moti Lal, the spokesman of the Hindus. The high spot of the action is a Hindu political demonstration.

Contributors

H. N. BRAILSFORD, whose articles from London to The New Republic are well known to our readers, recently returned to England from this country.

WILLIAM FAULKNER's new book will be a volume of verse, "A Green Bough," which Smith and Haas will issue this month. The poem in the present issue is, as were the four which we published last week, a selection from that volume.

WALTER N. POLAKOV, a consulting management engineer, has not only served as adviser for a number of manufacturing corporations in this country, but was consulting engineer for the Supreme Economic Council of Soviet Russia. Besides contributing to various magazines in this country and abroad he has written several books, "Mastering Power Production," "Man and His Affairs" and "Power Plant Management."

MARY HEATON VORSE, who has been interested in the labor movement in this country as a novelist, journalist and organizer, is at present in Decatur, where she is covering the trial of the nine Negro boys for The New Republic.

JOHN DEWEY is now at work on a volume based upon the lectures he recently delivered at Harvard on the philosophy of art.

HAMILTON BASSO, a former resident of New Orleans, is the author of a novel, "Relics and Angels," and of a biography of General P. G. T. Beauregard, recently published under the title of "Beauregard: The Great Creole." At present he is living in the mountains of North Carolina, where he is working on a novel.

HENRY PRATT FAIRCHILD, head of the Department of Sociology at New York University, helped to organize the Population Association of America, of which he has been president.

ASHER ACHINSTEIN is an economist for the New York State Board of Housing and the author of a volume on business cycles and a monograph on the cost of living.

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